JANUARY 31, 1983 $1.50

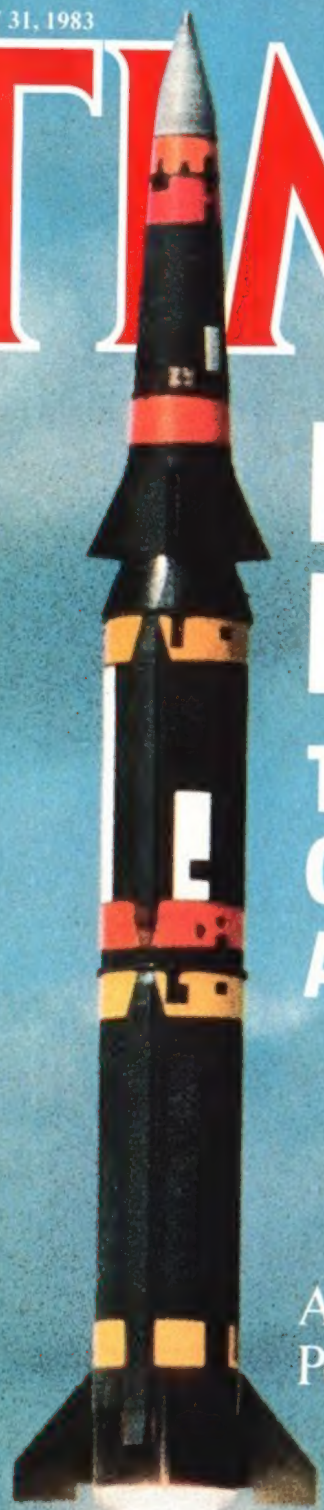
TIME

Message at Mid-Term

NUCLEAR POKER

The Stakes Get Higher And Higher

America's Pershing II



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JANUARY 31, 1983 Vol. 121 No. 5 **TIME** THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

TIME was just two months old in May 1923 when the first Frenchman, former Premier René Viviani, appeared on its cover. Since then, there have been 105 other cover stories devoted to French individuals or events. Last week, inaugurating TIME's 60th anniversary, all those covers went on exhibit at Paris' Georges Pompidou Center. Titled "America Looks at France, TIME 1923-1983," the exposition not only chronicles 20th century Gallic history, but also documents TIME's interest in the personalities and preoccupations of the French.

In an introduction to the exhibit, Time Inc. Editor in Chief Henry Grunwald wrote: "The covers represent only a fraction of TIME's coverage of French affairs. But they outline the changes both in the American view of France and in the institution known as the newsmagazine." Stanley Hoffmann, professor of French civilization at Harvard, who supplied an accompanying commentary, noted, "While the French have long thought that Americans had an image of France that was simultaneously archaic, sentimental and condescending, this is not the image that emerges from TIME's covers." Hoffmann counted 73 covers on political and military figures, dominated, of course, by Charles de Gaulle, who appeared on 14 covers and was TIME's Man of the Year for 1958. Concurring with Hoffmann's opinion, the French press praised TIME's serious approach to French affairs. The daily *Le Quotidien de Paris* said, "This invaluable vision is, for distant America, what France is all about."

SCHACHNES—SYGMA

Mme. Pompidou with TIME Publisher Meyers

The gala reception marking the show's opening took place not at the Pompidou Center, where a strike had delayed the hanging of the artwork, but at a nearby unfinished restaurant. Among the 400 guests were numerous cover subjects or members of their families, including Georges Clemenceau, grandson and namesake of the French Premier who appeared on the cover in 1926; Geneviève de Gaulle, niece of General De Gaulle; and the widow of President Georges Pompidou, a cover subject in 1969, 1971, 1973 and 1974. Present, too, were former Premier Edgar Faure (1955), former Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville (1964) and Actress Jeanne Moreau (1965). Commented Jacques Soustelle, former Governor-General of Algeria and a 1959 cover subject: "These magazine covers are a textbook of French history of the past 60 years." TIME is proud to be celebrating those 60 years of French history with 60 years of its own.

John a. Meyers

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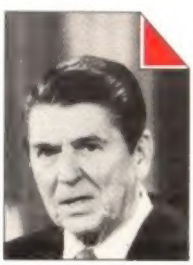

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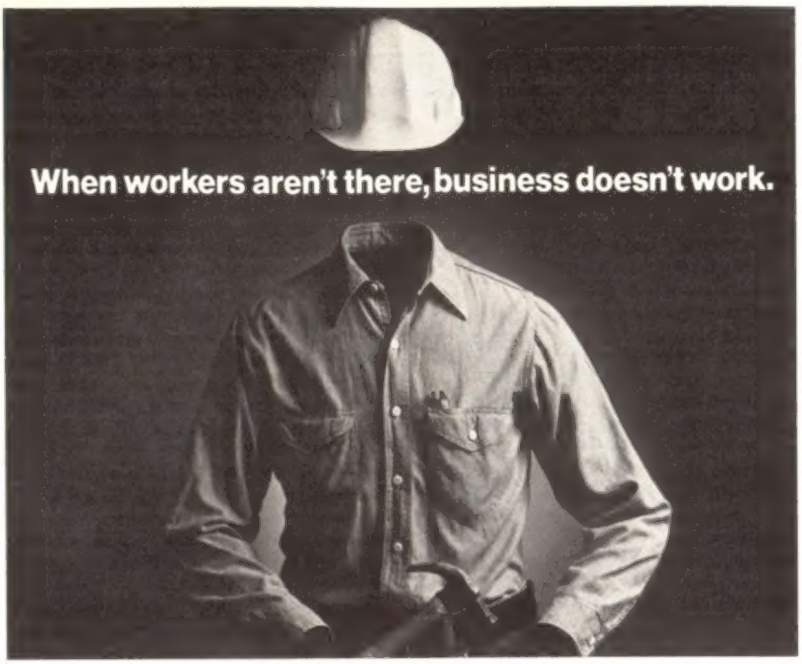

Each year cancer strikes 120,000 people in our work force, and causes our economy to lose more than $10 billion in earnings. Earnings that American workers might still be generating if they had known the simple facts on how to protect themselves from cancer.

Protect your employees, your company, and yourself...call your local unit of the American Cancer Society and ask for their free pamphlet, "Helping Your Employees to Protect Themselves Against Cancer." Start your company on a policy of good health today!

American Cancer Society

The TIME Subscriber Service Department is now open for business.

Because you are a valued customer, we at TIME are committed to serving you in every way. And that includes taking care of all inquiries and problems efficiently and quickly.

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Consumer Orientation
No. 20 in a Series
of Technical Papers
Subject: Introduction of the 928S.
New Power. New Performance. New
Parameters of Comfort and Luxury.

20

Porsche 928S

At Porsche, our philosophy is to design, test, produce, and constantly improve. The new 928S embodies this tradition and is the proud successor to the 928. Consider its liquid-cooled, fuel-injected, aluminum-alloy V-8 engine. Displacement has been increased to 4.7 liters. And output has been raised to 234 hp. On the track, with manual transmission, the 928S accelerates from 0 to 50 mph in 5.2 seconds. It reaches the ¼-mile mark from a standing start in 15.2 seconds at a speed of 90 mph. And it has a maximum speed of 146 mph. The 928S' transaxle design places the engine in front and transmission in back. It produces a nearly-perfect 50-50 front-to-rear weight distribution for improved cornering and balanced braking. And it creates a high polar moment of inertia that reduces pitching, resists cross-winds, and increases directional control. The 928S' unique Weissach rear axle optimizes rear-wheel alignment during deceleration or braking and while cornering. A kinematic effect changes toe-out to toe-in in no more than 0.2 seconds to control oversteer. The 928S' aerodynamic design includes integral front and rear spoilers to reduce lift and improve road holding. To optimize driver performance, standard equipment includes: An adjustable-tilt steering column and instrument cluster. Power-assisted, variable-boost, rack-and-pinion steering. Four-wheel, internally-vented, power disc brakes. A power seat on the driver's side. Automatic cruise control. Automatic climate control. Electrically-heated and adjustable outside rearview mirrors. Retractable halogen headlights with a power-spray washing system. And a choice of 5-speed manual or new 4-speed automatic transmission. Priced at $43,000*, the new 928S is Porsche's finest. For your Porsche+Audi dealer, call toll-free: (800) 447-4700. In Illinois, (800) 322-4400.
*Manufacturer's suggested retail price. Title, taxes, transportation, registration and dealer delivery charges additional. © 1982 Porsche Audi.

PORSCHE + AUDI
NOTHING EVEN COMES CLOSE

Letters

Debts Due

To the Editors:

The debt bomb [Jan. 10] proves once again that every loan, even between nations, is a gift until it is repaid.

Norris E. Chapman
Denver

The world has now discovered the dangers inherent in the Federal Reserve Board's pursuit of tight-money policies. It is tragic to see 12 million Americans unemployed, thousands of U.S. companies in bankruptcy and hordes of Third World countries on the brink of default. No wonder John Maynard Keynes warned us to avoid high interest rates.

Suzanne M. Taylor
Bothell, Wash.

So the Federal Reserve is the "lender of last resort" and will "create the liquidity to save the system." What that means is that Americans, through taxation and inflation, will have to pay to save a group of greedy bankers and irresponsible governments, including our own.

Jack Van Zandt
Tehachapi, Calif.

As a former deputy comptroller of the currency for special surveillance, I know that all national banks, large and small, were regularly informed of their excessive and risky loans to foreign countries. These loans were not made solely on the recommendation of young lending officers; they were approved by the banks' directors. The comptroller's attempts to reduce or eliminate these loans were thwarted by a Federal Reserve Board that contended that loans to foreign countries should not be criticized, and by bank executives who argued that such countries could not go bankrupt or fail to exist. In view of the current situation, the Fed and the bankers should remember that they were told that even in lower Manhattan the chickens would come home to roost.

Robert A. Mullin
Rockport, Texas

Your story is a fine analysis of the lending practices of Western bankers. I agree with your statement that the responsibility for this mess lies with the "gunslinging" young bank officers who get ahead by handing out money to foreign borrowers with little concern about repayment. The banks are at fault for this situation. They fail to train their personnel properly.

Joseph W. Welsh
Vero Beach, Fla.

Some readers may have been surprised at the magnitude of the figures used for the countries in your debt watch list chart. Consequently, some explanation of the numbers might be useful. The dollars of total debt at the end of 1982 are gross external debt, including short-term debt but excluding assets abroad. Sometimes short-term debt is not taken into account by analysts, but recent experience has shown that such credit is at least as troublesome in refinancing situations as longer-term credit. Similarly, foreign assets may not always be immediately available.

In measuring the debt service payments for 1983, we go beyond the conventional method, which includes interest payments and amortization of principal for medium- and long-term debts. Morgan Guaranty also counts short-term debt, because a country that faces a liquidity problem should not assume that short-term credits will routinely be renewed.

Our rigorous definitions result in considerably higher figures than are customarily applied. But we believe our approach is valid in the current situation. In reality, however, we would not reduce a country's credit standing solely to a set of numbers, without considering other factors as well.

Rimmer deVries
Senior Vice President
Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.
New York City

I was so alarmed by the operations of the banking business that I have decided to keep my extra cash in a purse hung around my dog's neck.

Paul Pugliese
Long Branch, N.J.

Crumbling America

If we are going to salvage what is left of America's roads, bridges, dams and sewers [Jan. 10], let us kill two birds with one stone. We should put every able-bodied person receiving welfare or unemployment benefits to work on this project. We would be restoring a sense of pride to the jobless who want to work and getting our money's worth from those who want only a handout.

Gregg D. Merksamer
Scarsdale, N.Y.

The 78-year-old Arch Bridge linking Bellows Falls, Vt., and North Walpole, N.H., was declared unsafe eleven years ago. It was supposed to be dropped into the Connecticut River last December. After five explosive blasts, the span still stood, much to the chagrin of the demolition crew. It was made of a superior-strength steel. I hope that the experts will check to see if the other condemned bridges are made of quality steel and can be repaired rather than replaced.

Mrs. Peter D. Koson
Alstead, N.H.

Christian Schools

The scholastic success of Christian schools [Jan. 10], while admirable, is due more to their strict discipline than to their religious orientation. Rather than allow children to be brainwashed by the creationist teachings of fundamentalists, we should attack permissiveness in our public schools and restore that system to what it should be: secular but quality education.

Robert D. Lindskog
Bloomington, Minn.

Scores are higher in the Christian schools for a few reasons. Parents take an interest in their child's performance, the school may expel a student for the slightest offense, corporal punishment is permitted, and the dregs of society are not admitted. Public schools must offer an education to everyone who walks through the door. A diverse student body will never score as high as a small homogeneous group.

Max Hunsicker
Mount Gretna, Pa.

Proponents of fundamentalist schools have forgotten one of the basic teachings of the Bible, which is that the Christian is to respect and obey the government. In taking an arrogant, self-righteous position, the supporters of Christian schools not only reproach the Bible, but insult those who work in the public schools. The public system does work, but it works better when we stay to build rather than when we desert to experiment.

William Mitchell Murphy, Principal
Eugene Field Elementary School
Poplar Bluff, Mo.

Rock-'n'-Roll Deb

"*Haute* decadence" is my opinion of Cornelia Guest and her debut as a rock performer [Jan. 10]. It is tragic that again it is "fashionable to flaunt the traditional, frivolous perquisites of wealth and class."

William David Taylor
Bannockburn, Ill.

Cornelia Guest provides excellent reasons for increasing inheritance taxes on the revoltingly rich.

E. Stacy Creamer
Blue Bell, Pa.

Hooray for fun-loving, High School Dropout Cornelia Guest! However, it should be noted that many debutantes

have gone on to become lawyers, journalists, educators, businesswomen and civic leaders. Let's not be too eager to sell the American debt short.

Barbara P. Grant
Chicago

Cornelia says she can add and subtract and read. So can a second-grader.

Rick White
Los Angeles

And I thought Marie Antoinette was insensitive!

Robert Seward
Endicott, N.Y.

Rubinstein Calling

One day the voice on the other end of the line said, "This is Arthur Rubinstein" [Jan. 3]. My husband, who was superintendent of the school district, was sure someone was pulling his leg. But no, the maestro was in the area and wondered if there was a school interested in a spur-of-the-moment program. Rubinstein's greatness was in his wanting to share his God-given talent with others.

June M. Larson
Harrison, Mich.

Meat Eaters

In the article "Prague's Sullen Winter" [Jan. 10] you say "a middle-level executive is responsible for overseeing the production of 2 million tons of canned meat a day." Two million tons is 4 billion lbs. With a global population of 4.585 billion this is almost 1 lb. of meat a day for every person in the world. No wonder the plant cannot meet its quota.

Emerson H. Virden Jr.
Norristown, Pa.

Out of Mothballs

The Navy assures us that the recommissioned battleship, the U.S.S. *New Jersey* [Jan. 10] would take ten hits by conventional Soviet cruise missiles before being put out of action. This is not very comforting when one contemplates that several battleships were sent to the bottom in World War II by aircraft and submarines that seem primitive today. For $326 million we are getting a floating flagpole to carry Old Glory to the world's ports.

John E. Borrego
Charlotte, N.C.

The U.S.S. *New Jersey* a sitting duck? Nonsense. As the last commanding officer of this great ship, I can tell you that a screaming eagle is far more appropriate.

Robert C. Peniston
Captain, U.S.N. (ret.)
Lexington, Va.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

The customers always write

From the beginning 12 years ago, Mobil's messages in this space and elsewhere have been intended to stimulate national dialogue on a variety of issues. Judging from our mail, we've succeeded in this basic goal.

Through the years, we've received thousands of letters—many from readers who agreed with our point of view but also some which disputed our messages. Almost all made reasoned points *pro* or *con*, though a few arrived with four-letter words crayoned across the column. Either way, we've read them all. Above all, we're convinced these responses clearly show that more and more people recognize the right of business corporations to speak out on the issues.

Following are some samples of recent vintage:

• *On a message defending corporate Political Action Committees:*

"I applaud you on bringing this truth on business PACs to the public.... I contribute voluntarily to the Schering-Plough Better Government Fund and watch very closely where our contributions go. I want my contribution to support politicians who share my views on free enterprise, the free market, and who support the best interest of my company."

• *From a reader who disagrees with Mobil's advocacy advertising program in general:*

"I've tolerated your 'issue ads' in magazines and periodicals long enough, but now I hear that they're going on television. I've felt that your silly, complaining, misguided, self-serving messages were bad enough when I could just turn the page. Now I'll have to turn my television off. You, certainly, have finally turned a customer off."

• *But, on the same subject, another reader writes:*

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• *In response to a message poking gentle fun at the media for criticizing Mobil's attempt to acquire another oil company, this reply from a reader-writer:*

"Look, Mobil, you're entitled to your opinion and you are certainly entitled to all the space your money can buy on the op-ed page.... As a reporter for a small-market TV station... I am sick and tired of businessmen who whine about getting a raw deal from The Media. I am not The Media. No one I know is The Media.... Mobil Oil can't seem to tell the difference between the so-called monopolistic press they seem to hate so much and the majority of working journalists who love the truth and would love to report the truth about American business..."

• *In response to a message urging the media to adopt and enforce a code of ethics, one reader replied:*

"Unfortunately, many who are in a position to be heard are intimidated by the press's unbridled power and remain silent. Your efforts are extremely important to public service."

• *On a message giving Mobil's views on ways to help steer the nation out of the recession:*

"Awareness is the first step in coming up with possible solutions to correct the issue. The majority of Americans are unaware of the economic situation facing our nation. You've placed an importance on educating the consumer. My hat is off to you.... All in all, I am pleased to see Mobil Corporation spending time and money in the area of educating the consumer. Keep up the informative messages."

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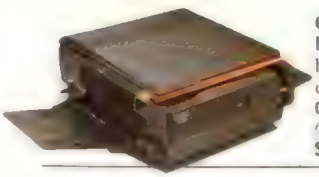

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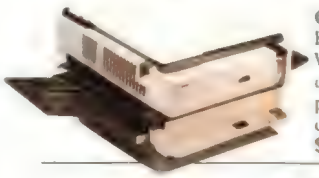

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Special Report

TIME/JANUARY 31, 1983

Playing Nuclear Poker

The stakes get higher and higher in the showdown over missiles in Europe

The Year of the Missile is barely a month gone, yet already the sense of urgency is intense, the diplomatic activity frenzied. French President François Mitterrand and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko were on missions to Bonn last week, and Vice President George Bush will arrive in the West German capital next week. In Britain, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher set forth her position in the House of Commons; in Rome, the Pope outlined his in an address to the Vatican diplomatic corps. With pressure building on all sides, President Reagan defended his record on arms control at an impromptu press conference and held a publicized meeting the next day with his chief negotiators. "Arms control is the next big issue," said a senior White House aide. "It has to be faced." If anything, he was understating the case.

The issue of such rising prominence—and potentially deadly consequences—hinges on two related enterprises: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's beleaguered plans to deploy 572 new American missiles in Western Europe, and the superpowers' deadlocked negotiations on Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF). Barring a breakthrough in those talks, which resume this week in Geneva, NATO is committed to begin deploying its missiles by the end of this year. If it fails to meet that deadline, the Western Alliance will have demonstrated to itself and to its adversaries that it is incapable of carrying out the most important collective decision it has made in many years.

Nothing would please the Kremlin more. The single highest priority of Soviet foreign policy in the months ahead is to stop most if not all of the new American weapons from crossing the Atlantic. Toward that end, the Soviets might, if neces-

The view from the White House: "They want us to remain at zero."

sary and if possible, cut a last-minute deal with the U.S. on INF. But they have at least as much hope for success through a campaign of pressure and propaganda directed at the Europeans.

Gromyko's four-day visit to West Germany marked yet another Soviet pitch to European public opinion. His timing was no accident: West German parliamentary elections will be held on March 6 *(see box)*, and the arms-control issue may swing the outcome. The election results, in turn, could determine whether the American missile deployment proceeds on schedule, not only in West Germany but in the other NATO countries as well. Gromyko strove to be dovish in Bonn, though he did drop an occasional note of menace. "We cannot ignore the fact," he warned, "that the Federal Republic is the only state due for deployment of Pershing II rockets, which can reach strategic targets deep in the Soviet Union in a few minutes."

On the other side of the Atlantic, Reagan complained at his press conference that to the Soviets, "promises are like piecrusts, made to be broken." Be that as it may, it is clear that the Soviets' skillful propaganda—stressing their peaceful intentions, their willingness to reduce their numbers of missiles aimed at Western Europe and their flexibility at the bargaining table—has convinced many Europeans that the Soviet disarmament goals are genuine. The U.S., known for its Madison Avenue genius, has been put on the defensive. Acknowledging as much, the White House last week announced the formation of a task force that will try to get America's arms-control message across to the Europeans. Heading the task force: former West Coast Advertising Executive and present Ambassador to Ireland Peter Dailey.

Bush's trip represents another facet of the belated U.S. public relations counteroffensive. At every stop during his two-week, seven-nation tour, the Vice President will emphasize America's commitment to peace and to reducing nuclear weapons. He will assure the allies that the Administration is serious about trying to reach a negotiated settlement, pointing out that one will not be possible unless the West Europeans stand firm on deployment. "His intention," says his chief of staff, Admiral Daniel Murphy, "is to listen to just what is on their minds and how they see the problem."

The view from the Kremlin: "We are not naive people."

As so often in Soviet-American relations, the superpowers are playing a form of poker. The U.S. is trying to use the threat of new missiles in Europe as a bargaining chip to force the Soviets to discard the most powerful and modern of their intermediate-range missiles already in place. The prospective U.S. arsenal includes 108 Pershing IIs, all bound for West Germany, to replace the shorter-range Pershing Is that have been there since 1969, plus 464 Tomahawk ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs) that are earmarked for Britain, Belgium, Italy and The Netherlands as well as West Germany. The Pershing IIs would arc up to the edge of space and unleash earth-penetrating warheads that can destroy concrete-reinforced bunkers 100 ft. underground; the slow but elusive cruise missiles home in on their targets with pinpoint accuracy *(see box)*.

Together, the two missile systems represent the state of the art in Yankee ingenuity, the ultimate bang for the buck. But

A Tomahawk ground-launched cruise missile (GLCM), photographed from an Air Force F-4 chase plane, in flight over a Utah test range. The new 18-ft.-

like all nuclear weapons, their purpose is paradoxical: they exist not to be employed, but to be deployed, as instruments of deterrence. The trouble is, the U.S. missiles are not only undeployed—they may be undeployable. They face technical problems on the test ranges in the U.S. and funding problems in Congress.

Far more serious, the U.S. missiles must wend their way through a withering, and growing, barrage of political opposition in Western Europe. The difficulties stem from December 1979, when the Carter Administration agreed to put in new missiles by 1983 while promising to conduct arms-limitation talks with the Soviets in the meantime, in the hope that the deployment would not be necessary. That "two-track" approach was supposed to demonstrate the ability of NATO to respond in a forceful yet reasonable way to new Soviet military challenges.

The result may be just the opposite. First Leonid Brezhnev, then his successor Yuri Andropov, dangled the possibility of substantial missile reductions, thus fanning public opinion in Western Europe against deployment and increasing the likelihood that it will be delayed or even blocked. Every week there is new evidence that the West European leaders might be wavering, or at least worrying about how long they can resist popular and parliamentary hostility to the stationing of new U.S. weapons on their soil.

West Germany is the linchpin. As Gromyko implied, it is missiles there that worry and provoke the Soviets more than those anywhere else. Partly that is because West Germany is closer to the U.S.S.R. than other NATO member states in Central Europe. Also it is because Germany alone is scheduled to receive both the Pershing IIs and the cruise missiles. The Pershings can theoretically hit targets in the western U.S.S.R. less than eight minutes after their lift-off.

Additionally, Germany frightens the Soviets because it is Germany, with all its ghosts of past scourges. Soviet propagandists have been quick to dub the GLCM the "German-launched cruise missile," even though it will be stationed at U.S. military bases that already house nuclear weapons.

In order to head off protests from the militant left, the pro-U.S. Bonn government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl has kept under wraps the exact sites at which the Pershing IIs will be stationed. If the Kohl coalition were to fall in the elections or get cold feet about the missiles, it is nearly certain that the other European

A Trio to Tax Any Negotiation

Intermediate-range nuclear missiles are understandably of more urgent concern to U.S. allies in Europe and to the Soviets than to the U.S. itself. Such missiles are designed to fly no more than 3,000 miles, which puts all U.S. territories except westernmost Alaska out of their range. Most Soviet citizens and every European, however, are vulnerable. To make intermediate-range missile negotiations even trickier, the bargaining that resumes this week in Geneva concerns reductions in a Soviet arsenal already in service, while the NATO missiles that might be cut are yet to be deployed.

There are principally three types of missiles under discussion in Geneva: one Soviet and two U.S. The Soviet missiles are probably targeted on military sites; similarly, the Western missiles would be aimed at the Soviet missiles and other military targets.

Soviet SS-20. The SS-20 is the biggest of the three (36 ft. tall, 5 ft. 6 in. in diameter). Unlike its Soviet liquid-fueled predecessors, which are considerably less accurate, the SS-20 is propelled by solid fuel. The main advantage: liquid fuel cannot be stored in a missile and the fueling process is slow. All U.S. missiles use solid fuel. The SS-20's range is long, up to 3,000 miles, and it is mobile, which makes it harder to find and destroy. Each has its own launcher, and Western intelligence experts suspect there is room for a second reload missile inside; the launcher runs under its own power on tank treads or tires. The missile is MIRVed, carrying three 150-kiloton warheads, each with its programmed target. The SS-20 is a replacement for the antiquated SS-4 and SS-5, which nevertheless remain deployed and are under negotiation in Geneva. The Soviets have deployed some 340 SS-20s in the past six years—a rate of more than one a week—scattered over 38 sites. Two-thirds are west of the Ural Mountains, pointing westward with at most a 20-min. flight to West Germany. Sums up a Bonn defense official: "There is no Soviet weapons system in its class that comes close to matching the SS-20." A compatriot in the Foreign Ministry agrees. "The SS-20," he says, "is a unique threat."

Test firing of the cruise ...

BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

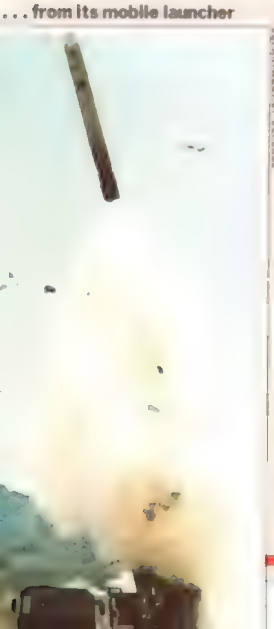
long self-propelled missile, which has a maximum range of 1,500 miles, flew 788 miles during the test at speeds of up to 500 m.p.h.

countries would follow in domino fashion. As NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns said last week, "Germany is crucial."

Britain is an uneasy home for the Tomahawk cruise missiles too. On the one hand, it has the closest ties with the U.S. of all the allies, and its Conservative government is ideologically compatible with the Reagan Administration. Prime Minister Thatcher has been a stalwart supporter of Reagan's zero-option proposal, under which he would cancel the planned U.S. missile deployment if the Soviets would agree to dismantle the missiles they already have in place (333 SS-20s plus 280 SS-4s and SS-5s). But last week Thatcher indicated less resolution than she has in the past. "One hopes to achieve the zero option," she told the House of Commons, "but in the absence of that we must achieve balanced numbers." The opposition Labor Party in Britain is vocally anti-deployment. Thatcher may call a general election in October, two months before the first Tomahawks are due to arrive at Greenham Common, 52 miles from London, where a group of women is conducting a round-the-clock "peace camp" against the deployment. Just the remote possibility that a Labor government could come to power is a nightmare for Washington.

U.S. Pershing II. Until last Friday morning, the new Martin-Marietta missile had not had a successful test flight. A skeptical Congress has authorized funds only for the first 21 missiles; the Pentagon hopes to build 108, at a total cost of $2.8 billion. All are destined for West Germany, where they will replace shorter-range Pershing Is that have been there since 1969. The Pershing II's range of 1,000 miles means it cannot reach Moscow from West Germany, but it can land its 250-kiloton warhead (15 times the Hiroshima bomb) in many parts of the western U.S.S.R. in less than ten minutes. Like the SS-20, it is propelled by solid fuel in two stages. Not quite so tall and much slimmer (32 ft. 9 in. by 3 ft. 3 in.) than its Soviet opposite, the new Pershing is theoretically ten times as accurate, able half the time to hit within 30 yds. of its target. Once the warhead is diving earthward, its "radar area correlator" kicks in, comparing the actual terrain below with a map stored in its small computer, and moving external fins to bring the warhead down precisely on target. This complicated "terminal guidance system" failed to work properly during last November's test flight. It is not as mobile as the SS-20, but its extreme accuracy is of great military value against such vital hardened targets as an enemy's communications centers. It is probably the weapon that most worries Soviet military strategists.

. . . from its mobile launcher



DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

U.S. Tomahawk cruise missile. The SS-20 and the Pershing II are ballistic missiles: they fly in an arc like an artillery shell. The Tomahawks are more like unmanned jet planes; indeed, they are designed to replace piloted bombers. The comparatively petite (18 ft. long, 2 ft. 3 in. wide) cruise missiles are loaded four to each wheeled launcher, with four launchers clustered at each site. Britain is to have ten such sites, Italy seven, West Germany about six, Belgium and The Netherlands three each. The cost for the 464 missiles: $3.7 billion. Tomahawks have a drawback: they are slower than most jet planes. At a cruising speed of about 500 m.p.h., a Tomahawk would take three hours or more to fly its 200-kiloton warhead from England to a Soviet target. The missile's advantages: stealth, remarkable mobility and accuracy. A cruise missile can skitter along between 50 ft. and 200 ft. above the ground and, guided by a preprogrammed computer map similar to that on board the Pershing II, strike within 10 to 20 yds. of its target.

Despite its reputation for political chaos, Italy has been remarkably serene and sure about accepting its quota of 112 Tomahawks. Part of the reason is that the powerful Italian Communist Party is trying to project a moderate image and demonstrate its independence from Moscow. The Vatican has been generally tolerant of deployment, despite strong opposition to nuclear weapons from U.S. bishops. Said Pope John Paul II recently: "Dialogue calls for reciprocity . . . In the progressive reduction of armaments, nuclear or conventional, the parties must be equally involved and together travel the various stages of disarmament." Two other countries slated for Tomahawk cruise missiles, Belgium and The Netherlands, have imposed so many conditions and left themselves so many loopholes that it is highly uncertain what they will do in the crunch.

France has played its usual role of NATO's proud and somewhat haughty odd man out. The French have their own nuclear deterrent, and they are not part of the military structure of the alliance. But they are extremely concerned about Soviet superiority in the region and are keeping their fingers crossed that, come the

moment of truth at the end of the year, their neighbors do not back away from deployment. Last week brought the extraordinary spectacle of France's Socialist President François Mitterrand delivering a tough and gutsy speech to the West German Bundestag, urging his audience, but especially his fellow Social Democrats, to rebuff Gromyko by showing their support for the firm missile stand endorsed by Chancellor Kohl, a Christian Democrat. Said the French leader: "Whoever gambles on the decoupling of the European continent from the American continent would call into question the maintenance of equilibrium and thus the maintenance of peace."

Many French military analysts feel that a partial deployment—say 50 American missiles after a Soviet reduction in SS-20s—would be preferable to Reagan's zero option. This way the Soviets would know that an attack on their part would be met by at least some retaliation. "Deterrence," says Pierre Hassner, a foreign policy expert at the University of Paris, "is a state of mind."

Flexibility, too, is a state of mind, and it is one that the chief U.S. negotiator on INF, Paul Nitze, has been trying to encourage in Washington and communicate to the West Europeans. After meeting with Reagan last Friday, Nitze said that while the zero option remains the Administration's position, the U.S. might consider some compromise if the Soviet Union showed "give" on its own part.

Nitze knows that American stubbornness does not translate into allied firmness. Quite the contrary. And with every crack in NATO unity, the credibility of his negotiating position is diminished; the threat of deployment looks more like a bluff; and the vicious cycle takes another turn for the worse. The Soviets have less and less incentive to give up anything in the negotiations. As the American hand gets weaker, the stakes get higher. For the Soviets, the winner's pot includes the possibility of seriously, perhaps irreparably, dividing NATO.

However, if for any reason the new American missiles fail to arrive in Europe by the end of the year, the military consequences would not be nearly so dire as President Reagan suggested last week. The collapse of the deployments, he warned, would leave Europe with "no deterrent on our side." But even without the Tomahawks and Pershing IIs, NATO has a panoply of American nuclear weapons—shorter-range missiles, fighter-bombers, carrier-based planes aboard aircraft carriers in the Sixth Fleet—plus the independent nuclear forces of the British and French. Together these weapons still pose a formidable threat of retaliation.

In fact, there could be a severe political cost if NATO overcomes its internal resistance and moves ahead with the deployment plan. If hundreds of thousands of demonstrators try to block the installation of the missiles, the trauma could leave lasting scars on the already battered body of transatlantic solidarity. The U.S. would be blamed for having pitted allied governments against large portions of their own constituencies. It would be that much harder to make a decision, not to mention implement it, the next time an escalation of the Soviet military threat required a unified response by NATO.

Actually, the West Europeans have themselves partly—and the Soviets largely—to blame for the whole dilemma. The rhetoric of the building European anti-nuclear movement has absurdly cast the U.S. as the imperious, imperialist villain who is thrusting upon the peace-loving West Europeans weapons that they neither want nor need. It is one of the many ironies of the whole episode that it was the West Europeans who originally asked for a NATO buildup, and that the U.S. agreed to proceed with the deployment program despite strong misgivings about its military and political rationale.

Gromyko, right, with Vogel: appealing to German opinion

The U.S. had stationed long-range missiles in Europe two decades ago, but they were soon removed because they seemed redundant and excessively vulnerable, given the ability of the U.S. to hit any target in the U.S.S.R. with intercontinental ballistic missiles, bombers based in the U.S. and missiles launched from nuclear submarines. These weapons constituted the U.S.'s central, or strategic, arsenal—the triad. Then one of West Germany's brightest up-and-coming defense intellectuals and politicians, Helmut Schmidt, argued strenuously in the Bundestag that America's own deterrent of last resort constituted a nuclear umbrella of "extended deterrence" for Western Europe, sheltering NATO's first lines of defense on and around the Continent.

But this was in the days of the U.S.'s uncontested strategic nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. In the late '60s and early '70s, that comfortable margin in intercontinental weaponry gave way to parity, or rough equivalence. At the same time, the Soviets continued their buildup in military manpower and conventional forces within Europe until the Warsaw Pact had a considerable numerical edge over NATO.

European and American defense planners alike began to worry about the concept of "extended deterrence" breaking down and the defense of Europe becoming "decoupled" from that of the U.S. Imagining future crises, they feared that the Soviets might be able to use their by now vast strategic power to hold America's central forces in check while they advanced bishops and knights against weaker NATO pieces on the European chessboard.

Was it any longer plausible that a Soviet armored blitzkrieg into West Germany would trigger a U.S. retaliatory blow from North Dakota, since that in turn might trigger a counterretaliation against the U.S.? Would an American President risk New York in defense of Hamburg?

Enter the SS-20. It was first deployed early in 1977. It was a replacement for the SS-4s and SS-5s, with which the Soviets had been menacing Europe for decades. The SS-20 was therefore not a new threat in that its targets more or less matched those of the old SS-4s and SS-5s that were destined for retirement. But the SS-20 is an immensely more capable weapon. It is mobile, highly accurate and dauntingly destructive, with three independently targetable warheads. (SS-20 is its NATO designation. The Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces innocently dubbed it the Pioneer, in honor of the U.S.S.R.'s version of Cub Scouts and Campfire Girls.)

Schmidt, by then the Chancellor of West Germany and the most knowledgeable and articulate spokesman for European fears of decoupling, saw a sinister connection between the Soviet introduction of the SS-20 and what he regarded as the shortsighted, selfish American conduct of the second Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II).

The SS-20 had a range (3,100 miles)

just shy of what would qualify it as a strategic weapon. Therefore it could not be limited by SALT II. Schmidt was fearful that Jimmy Carter would sign a SALT II treaty that would let the SS-20 run free while restricting the introduction of new American weapons in Europe. In order to assure Schmidt's support for the embattled SALT II treaty and to make amends for a series of bungles on other European defense issues, the Carter Administration agreed in 1979 to the "two-track" approach. The U.S. would set about putting new missiles in Europe by 1983 *unless* it could reach an agreement with the U.S.S.R. in the meantime that would reduce the Soviet nuclear threat in the region, preferably by cutting the number of SS-20s.

It was, from the outset, a risky and deeply flawed concept. The next round of SALT like the previous ones, was to be bilateral, between the two superpowers, with no chairs at the table for West European representatives. The U.S.S.R. has persistently tried to include British and French nuclear weapons on the agenda, but the U.S. is just as adamant about discussing only Soviet and American forces. Unlike the U.S.S.R.'s Warsaw Pact satellites, the U.S.'s NATO allies are truly sovereign states, and Britain and France have refused to let the U.S. bargain with their independent arsenals.

The Soviet missiles in question are entirely in the U.S.S.R., but the American ones are supposed to be deployed on the territory of third countries. That has given those countries a *de facto* veto over the American negotiating position since the U.S. cannot deploy missiles without the host nation's say-so. Moreover, it has presented the Soviets with a golden opportunity to play the U.S. off against its allies.

The Soviets have been only too eager to do so, expertly exploiting the homegrown angst and ambivalence in Europe. Much of the neutralism and anti-Americanism have been concentrated among the younger generation. Unlike their elders, they have no personal recollection of Americans as liberators of Western Europe or of Soviets as occupiers of Eastern Europe. Many of them have grown up taking their freedom, their prosperity and their American-backed security for granted.

The Reagan Administration inherited a policy and an alliance that would be troublesome even if managed with great skill and sensitivity. The Administration demonstrated neither, thereby making a bad situation considerably worse.

Following through on his campaign denunciations of SALT II as "fatally flawed," Reagan came into office hoping that he could set arms control aside until the U.S. had a chance to rearm. He decided to leave the treaty unratified, although he reluctantly went along with the State Department and Joint Chiefs of Staff in committing the U.S. to continue abiding by its terms. So much for the West Europeans' hope that a new round of SALT might obviate the need for new American missiles in their countries. A series of official statements, leaked documents and new Pentagon programs suggested that the Administration took more seriously than any of its predecessors the feasibility of a "limited, protracted" nuclear war. The West Europeans feared that their countries might be the battlefield. Finally, Reagan's enthusiasm for a worldwide crusade against Soviet Communism, voiced during a trip to Europe last summer, could hardly have been less in tune with the growing nostalgia there for détente and disarmament.

POLY PRESS

Mitterrand at the Bundestag: urging transatlantic unity

By mid-1981 the Administration was convinced that it had to make at least the appearance of a serious quest for progress on the negotiating track laid down in 1979, or the allies would exercise their veto and derail the deployments for good.

As the Administration buckled down to the task of designing a proposal for the INF talks, the most influential figure—more so than anyone at the White House, in the Cabinet or even at the sub-Cabinet level—turned out to be Richard Perle, 41, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy. A longtime aide to Democratic Senator Henry Jackson of Washington and a vigorous opponent of SALT on Capitol Hill, Perle quickly established himself as the Administration's most tenacious, articulate hard-liner as well as one of its most skillful bureaucratic infighters.

Perle championed what became known as the zero option (or zero-zero proposal, as the Administration came to call it) for the negotiations on INF. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger followed Perle's lead in making the case to the White House.

Originally a European idea, the zero option would require the Soviets to remove the SS-20s with which they were threatening Europe, as well as their older SS-4s and SS-5s, if NATO called off its planned deployment of the Tomahawks and Pershing IIs. As refined by Perle, the zero option was extended to all SS-20s throughout the U.S.S.R., including those in Asia. Since they are mobile, he argued, they are a potential threat to Europe even if aimed at China.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Richard Burt, who was then the director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, argued for a more modest trade-off that would have allowed the Soviets to keep a reduced force of SS-20s, while NATO deployed enough of its own missiles to establish equality in warheads.

After months of fierce intramural combat, Perle won. President Reagan, who paid little attention to arms-control policy and was annoyed by the esoteric complexity of past agreements, liked the boldness and simplicity of the zero proposal. It dramatized his proclaimed goal of achieving sweeping reductions in arms control rather than the mere limitations imposed by SALT. Also, the proposal unabashedly required the Soviets to accept drastic cuts in existing forces in exchange for the U.S.'s holding back on future deployments. Reagan endorsed the notion that the Soviets should be forced in arms control to pay a penalty for having moved dangerously ahead of the U.S. in overall military power, an alarming judgment that many experts do not share with the President.

Paul Nitze, the veteran U.S. arms-control negotiator, liked the zero option too, at least as a starting point. As he told TIME last week, "It was essential that we have a going-in position which was concise, which could be expressed in a single paragraph in a speech and would have an impact at home and abroad."

Reagan unveiled the zero option in an address broadcast live to Western Europe on Nov. 18, 1981, and the initial reaction from across the ocean was relief and applause. With one stroke, Reagan seemed to have outflanked the unilateral disarmament movement. Even British Labor Party Leader Michael Foot, who opposes the stationing of any U.S. missiles in Britain, was forced to concede: "It seems at least [that Reagan] has made a response which people in Europe can understand because proposals for disarmament are what the world is crying out for."

Reagan seemed also to have stolen a march on the Soviets. Leonid Brezhnev

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West Germany Reconsiders

When conservative West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl wrested power from the Social Democratic–led coalition of Helmut Schmidt more than three months ago, he took pains to emphasize his commitment to NATO's missile deployment plans. So did Kohl's new partner, the centrist Free Democratic Party (F.D.P.), which had been instrumental in causing the collapse of the Schmidt government by forming a new partnership with Kohl's Christian Democratic Union (C.D.U.) and its sister party, the Christian Social Union (C.S.U.). Now, just five weeks before West Germans go to the polls in national elections on March 6, the missile issue has been thrust into the forefront of the election campaign. The debate has clouded Kohl's early prospects of victory and may subject West Germany to a siege of serious political instability.

Kohl now faces a growing fear among West Germans that U.S.-Soviet arms talks will prove fruitless, making deployment of the U.S.-made Pershing II and cruise missiles all but certain. According to a recent poll, 54% of Kohl's Christian Democratic supporters favor some kind of postponement in deploying the weapons, as do 65% of Social Democrats and 70% of Free Democratic voters. As a result, many West Germans are calling for an "interim solution" that would trim the number of missiles on both sides or put off deployment while talks continue. Kohl has rejected any compromise, arguing that such a course would undermine the U.S. zero-option bargaining position at Geneva. But C.D.U. strategists concede that the Chancellor knows public opinion is running against him and would welcome a more flexible approach by the Americans.

KARIN HILL

Papier-mâché Genscher and Reagan

The search for an interim solution has been enthusiastically embraced by the Social Democrats, though the party officially favors deployment if talks break down. Says Hans-Jochen Vogel, the party's leader and candidate for Chancellor: "There has hardly ever been a negotiation in which the final result was identical to the opening position of one of the parties." He adds: "Kohl wants a mandate for deployment. I am fighting to avoid deployment." At a party convention last week, Vogel drew the loudest cheers when he called for a "constructive" U.S. reply to Soviet overtures for reciprocal arms reductions. Still, Vogel has been ambiguous enough in his approach to allow his party's pro-deployment believers, most notably Schmidt, to support him.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Kohl's Foreign Minister and the leader of the Free Democrats, in campaigning against Vogel declared that Bonn is not contemplating any change in the 1983 deployment date. But Genscher has also waffled on the deployment question. Addressing party officials, he went so far as to argue that an interim agreement was implicit in the initial "double-track" strategy adopted by NATO in 1979. Genscher said that the alliance could indeed stretch out deployment while talks continued.

The Free Democrats, still reeling from charges of opportunism for precipitously abandoning Schmidt last September, now enjoy the support of only 3% or 4% of the voting public. That is short of the 5% necessary to assure representation in the Bundestag. The C.D.U.-C.S.U. coalition has dropped slightly, from 51% to 49%, according to a recent poll. If the Free Democrats fail to qualify, Kohl could be forced to form a minority government. Meanwhile, the opposition is gaining on him. From a low of 30% in opinion polls last year, the Social Democrats have rebounded to 41%. The pro-environment, antimissile Green Party is enjoying 6% in the polls, and could well displace the F.D.P. from its traditional role as West Germany's pivotal third party. The prospect of the uncompromising Greens holding the parliamentary balance of power is unsettling to both major parties.

Even if Kohl wins the coming elections, his margin could be razor thin. Still, Kohl insists he will regard any victory as a mandate to deploy NATO missiles if the Geneva negotiations should collapse.

had been achieving considerable success with his "peace campaign" and his call for a moratorium on nuclear weapons in Europe. Suddenly that appeal seemed pale compared with Reagan's dramatic proposal "to get rid of an entire class of missiles," as Nitze put it.

But what was a triumph of public relations turned into a headache when Nitze and the U.S. team settled in at the negotiating table. Whatever its merits as a "going-in position," the zero option was clearly going nowhere in Geneva. It was simply non-negotiable. The SS-20, after all, is the pride of the Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces. The Kremlin has sunk billions of rubles into developing it, training its crews and getting it in place. There was no way that Moscow would agree to dismantle every one of these missiles in exchange for "paper" reductions of missiles that the U.S. had not deployed and might not be able to deploy, given the turmoil in Western Europe. Besides, it goes very much against the grain of the Soviet military to dismantle even antique weapons in accordance with deals that their diplomatic comrades make with the U.S.S.R.'s principal adversaries. Only very reluctantly did the Soviets agree in SALT to tear down small numbers of some of their most outmoded strategic weapons.

Last November the new Soviet party leader, Yuri Andropov, denounced the U.S. proposal for INF as one-sided. "Let no one expect unilateral disarmament from us," he said. "We are not naive people."

The Soviets countered with a zero option of their own. Arguing that there is already a rough balance in medium-range (1,000 to 5,000 kilometers) missiles and aircraft in Europe, they proposed that each side should freeze its forces (thus ruling out the deployment of cruise missiles and Pershing IIs). By 1985 there would be a reduction from 1,000 missiles and bombers on each side to 600; the total would drop to 300 by 1990 and eventually to zero.

The Soviets' arithmetic is utterly phony. It ignores large numbers of Soviet weapons that clearly should be included. On the Western side of the ledger, it counts weapons that just as clearly do not belong in the equation. In order to make the numbers come out the way they want, the Soviets are counting some old Pershing I missiles that are in the West German armed forces, even though they do not have their own nuclear warheads (these would be supplied by the U.S. during a crisis) and have ranges shorter than a number of Soviet missiles that do not show up in the U.S.S.R.'s tally. The Kremlin gives equal weight to vintage British Vulcan bombers, which are practically candidates for an aeronautical museum, and their own Backfire, one of the most potent planes in the Soviet air force. Soviet charts also equate France's S-2 and S-3 ballistic missiles with the SS-20, which

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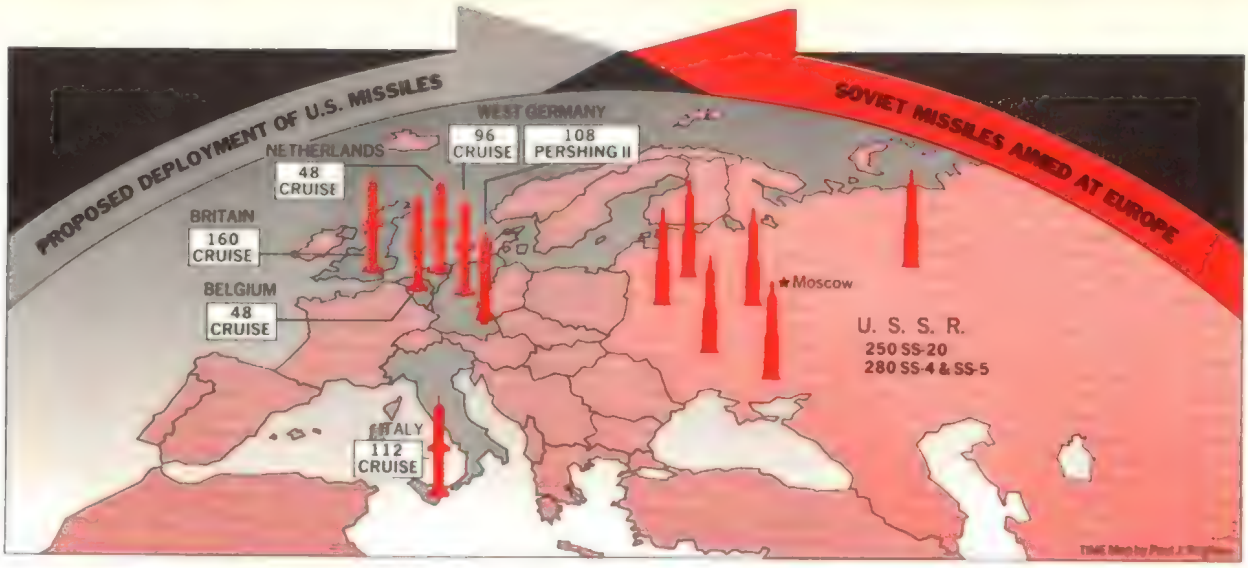


Special Report

has three times as many warheads and almost twice the range.

The Soviet insistence on factoring British and French nuclear forces into their calculations is critical to their NATO-splitting strategy. Since the British and French already have more than 250 medium-range bombers and missiles, the Soviet proposal for a reduction on both sides to 300 by 1990 would leave the U.S. with less than 50 slots of its own—none of which could be filled with Tomahawks or Pershing IIs, since those would be prohibited by another provision of the Soviet proposal.

The purpose, as some Soviet officials have admitted in private, is to come as close as possible to driving the U.S. nuclear presence off the Continent. "We're Europeans," said one Soviet official. "You Americans are not. You have no business being here with your nuclear weapons."

Soviet negotiators had also been hinting in Geneva that if the NATO deployments went ahead as planned, they might walk out of not only the INF talks but the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START), which are proceeding in parallel. The Soviet proposal in START is for reductions well below the ceilings established by SALT II. But that proposal is contingent on there being no new missiles in NATO. Last fall the Soviets seemed to be backing away from their threat of a walkout, since it conflicted with the image of infinite patience they were trying to convey.

In a televised speech on Dec. 21, Andropov offered to reduce the number of SS-20s aimed at Western Europe from the current level of 250 to somewhere around 162, equal to the number of British and French missiles. He also implied that the U.S.S.R. would take out of commission its old SS-4s and SS-5s.

The proposal was deceptive and vague. The SS-4s and SS-5s were overdue for the scrap heap anyway. The Soviets may have deployed excess SS-20s precisely so that they could negotiate away some of the surplus to prove their reasonableness. Moreover, Andropov left open the possibility of merely moving the excess SS-20s so that they were east of the Urals; from there the missiles could be put on trains and brought back within range of Europe in a day.

But Andropov's overtures were pitched perfectly to the European public. Now the Soviets could claim to be removing from Europe as many SS-4, SS-5 and SS-20 warheads as the U.S. was planning to introduce on its cruise missiles and Pershing IIs. Even better, the U.S.S.R. was conveying the impression of flexibility, in marked contrast to the U.S., which was still stuck on zero.

Andropov's performance to date has demonstrated that the West may be dealing with a new type of Soviet leader—a poker player who handles his cards with subtlety and prestidigitation. He has been remarkably quick and shrewd in taking advantage of openings that circumstance, allied anxieties and American missteps have given him. Brezhnev was in office for a number of years before he had the confidence and the backing within the collective leadership to assume a forceful, prominent role in foreign policy. In the European nuclear debate, Brezhnev attempted a number of personal, high-visibility ploys to head off NATO decisions, but none were as successful as the way Andropov has played his hand these past two months—first, with his televised speech in December, then with tantalizing but carefully hedged hints of additional concessions to visiting West German Opposition Leader Hans-Jochen Vogel earlier this month

All this has made it possible for Andropov to give a resounding *nyet* to the American zero proposal while at the same time seeming to say *da* to the West Europeans in their eagerness for a return to détente.

Nitze and his colleagues had expected that the zero option would run into a stone wall in Geneva. They were somewhat more surprised to discover that Washington gave them virtually no flexibility to explore compromises along the lines of what the State Department had originally favored: a reduced SS-20 force offset by a scaled-back NATO package

Finally, last summer, Nitze took it upon himself to overcome the inertia of the American policymaking process *(see box)*. He embarked on a secret exploratory mission with his Soviet counterpart, Yuli Kvitsinsky. The two men came up with a plan that might have broken the bargaining impasse. Nitze would have given up the Pershing II program altogether and had the U.S. deploy enough cruise missiles to offset a greatly

Shultz and Adelman in Oval Office last week

A strong incentive for reaching agreements.

The Nitze Approach: Hard Line, Deft Touch

If by last July, Paul Nitze and Yuli Kvitsinsky were not precisely friends, the American and his much younger Soviet counterpart nevertheless knew each other well. For more than eight months, Nitze, 76, and Kvitsinsky, 46, had been assigned to Geneva, meeting twice weekly to negotiate a diminution of both sides' European missile arsenals, the goal of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) talks. The men met more casually as well. Their final informal meeting before last summer's two-month recess took place on the afternoon of July 16 at a mountainside restaurant near the town of Saint-Cergue, overlooking Geneva. Leaving the lodge, as they strolled together down a forest path on the way to their car, Nitze passed to Kvitsinsky a typed document. The paper outlined a possible agreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union on the INF issues. The Soviet official studied the document, then, in his perfect English, told Nitze that he thought such a compromise seemed plausible. The Soviets would dismantle more of their missiles than they publicly intended, although not as many as the U.S. publicly demanded. Both men agreed to take the plan back to their governments for consideration.

As it turned out, the U.S. and the Soviet Union rejected the proposals. In fact, only a few weeks later, Nitze and his boss, Eugene Rostow, were rebuked by the White House for even exploring such a missile compromise with the Soviets. And when Rostow was fired earlier this month, he suggested a bit misleadingly that it was Nitze's abortive breakthrough last July that had clinched his downfall, and not his own sometimes imperious style. Yet Nitze remains, by every account, the most experienced, respected hawk in the defense Establishment.

In 1976, two years after resigning as Pentagon representative on the SALT negotiating team because he feared the Watergate-obsessed Nixon Administration might concede too much, he and Rostow helped form the hard-line Committee on the Present Danger to lobby against the SALT II treaty and for bigger defense budgets. But he is not an unreasoning zealot. Indeed, even his critics, on the left and the right, admit Nitze's pragmatism and acute intellectual power.

Last spring and summer, Nitze came to believe that the chances of realizing the Administration's goal—the zero option—were close to nil. Instead, the compromise on which he and Kvitsinsky agreed called for Moscow, most significantly, to shrink the European SS-20 force from 240 to 75. In return, the U.S. and NATO would cancel the deployment of the Pershing II and cut the number of planned Tomahawk cruise-missile launchers from 116 to 75. Each SS-20 carries three warheads, while each cruise-missile launcher holds four Tomahawks. Thus, the U.S. would have been left with a one-third numerical advantage in intermediate-range land-based European warheads (300 *vs.* 225).

Nitze would prefer the zero option, but given Soviet demands and souring NATO relations, he thought he had wrenched from Kvitsinsky an attractive deal. Back in Washington, Nitze and Rostow explained the proposal at a special meeting of Administration arms control principals, including National Security Adviser William Clark and Secretary of State George Shultz. The reaction there was mainly hopeful. Within days, Rostow's aides and the Joint Chiefs of Staff had finished a report on the plan for Reagan, who had just one comment: Could the Joint Chiefs live without the Pershing II?

In a collaborative reply, the military chiefs concluded that the new Pershing missile was important though not essential. But that answer to Reagan's question, routed first through Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, never reached the President. Instead, Weinberger had an aide, Richard Perle, paraphrase the Joint Chiefs' memo and graft it onto an elaborate Pentagon condemnation of the Nitze-Kvitsinsky plan. A month after the Swiss mountainside tête-à-tête, Nitze and Rostow were chastised by Clark in a memo to Shultz for exceeding their negotiating authority. Clark denies that the memo was a reprimand, but officials who have seen it insist otherwise.

MIRGAM—GAMMA/LIAISON

Genial in Geneva: Nitze with Kvitsinsky

Back at their mountainside meeting place in September, Kvitsinsky told Nitze glumly that his superiors in Moscow had rejected the July proposal, and had scolded him for agreeing to it. The crucial, unanswerable question: Might the Nitze plan have blossomed into an agreement, despite the initial Soviet rejection, if Washington had backed it?

Nitze refuses to admit that his hand has been weakened as he returns to Geneva this week. "If you propose to get something done," he said last week, hours before meeting at the White House with Reagan, "you can't go into it thinking you'll be defeated. I will have the necessary flexibility."

Or so he naturally expects. From the beginning he has led a productive, patrician life of unimpeded success. After graduating from Harvard, Nitze amassed a fortune during the Depression as an investment banker. In government since 1940, he oversaw the creation of the Marshall Plan and the NATO Alliance; in the early '60s he helped manage U.S. responses to crises over Berlin and Cuban missiles. Some who know him suggest that Nitze is now driven to achieve an INF treaty as a sort of final professional capstone. Nitze scoffs: "I just don't give that kind of thing any thought. My problem is with the Russians. They're the subject I'm focusing on, with my eyes wide open." No one should doubt that he has all requisite skepticism toward the Soviets. But he may ultimately lack patience with compatriots he considers wrongheaded. "If Reagan fails to concede more flexibility," says one colleague, "I think Paul would leave." Even if Nitze is finally forced out of government, he will surely prefer to go discreetly, ever the gentleman policymaker. Says Nitze: "There's been entirely too much fuss made over problems here on the Washington scene." The fuss and the problems are surely not over yet. —*By Kurt Andersen.*
Reported by Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington

reduced force of SS-20s in Europe. The purely military rationale of the Pershing IIs had always been the object of debate and doubt. Their range would not permit them to reach Moscow, and the targets that they could hit in the western regions of the U.S.S.R. were also covered by American intercontinental and submarine-based missiles. Nitze was convinced that "cutting the Gordian knot," as he put it last week, and reaching an agreement that both reduced the SS-20s and allowed the U.S. to introduce cruise missiles was well worth the sacrifice of the Pershing IIs. However, Perle, who was once Nitze's protégé and ally, vehemently opposed the plan. At Perle's urging, Weinberger fought the compromise and got the President to decide that the Pershing IIs could not be sacrificed after all. The Kremlin, too, rejected the Nitze-Kvitsinsky deal probably because it calculated it could do better by holding out for no American missiles at all.

Since then, the zero option has become even more of a millstone around the Administration's neck. Because zero is absolute, it does not lend itself to compromise, especially in an Administration where arms control is, at best, highly suspect. The prevailing view, represented most forcefully in closed-door meetings by Perle, has remained that no agreement is better than a bad agreement, and any agreement that leaves the Soviets with any SS-20s is a bad agreement.

The allies are close to the other end of the spectrum: almost any agreement is better than none, and any agreement that significantly limits the SS-20s is probably a good one, or at least the best that can be hoped for, given the apparent shakiness of NATO's resolve to deploy the Pershing IIs and cruise missiles. If the talks fail, the West European governments are going to have to be able to claim the U.S. negotiated in good faith and that the failure was because of Moscow.

American officials say privately that something like an interim solution—reduced, equal deployments on both sides with the vague, nonbinding espousal of zero as a long-term goal—might be possible later, but not now. They do not want to give even the hint of an official endorsement before the West German elections, lest the U.S. appear to be leaving Helmut Kohl, a strong public supporter of the zero option, out on a limb.

The reaction to that reasoning in Bonn: nonsense. Said one of Kohl's closest aides last week: "The Chancellor would be delighted if the Americans shifted to a more flexible approach in Geneva, especially if it brought the two sides close to an agreement."

There is some chance that the U.S. might still stem the adverse trends in Europe and thus reverse the vicious cycle. The U.S. needs its allies to be more supportive of its negotiating position in order for them also to be more supportive of the deployment program. And the deployment program must appear to be on track for there to be any chance of the Soviets' making a deal. But for all that to happen, the Administration would have to make up its mind that the zero option has long since outlived whatever usefulness it once had, and that the time is overdue to propose a more realistic compromise that would induce both the Soviets and the West Europeans to accept some new missiles in Europe.

Once he gets an earful from the NATO allies, Bush may counsel something to that effect after he returns from his tour of Europe. Another potentially decisive figure is George Shultz. So far the Secretary of State has not mastered the substance of arms control or asserted a moderating influence in policymaking on the subject. He has put his top deputy, Kenneth Dam, in charge of overseeing INF and START, but Dam, like Shultz, has yet to come to grips with the technical and bureaucratic morass. The State Department is supposed to take the lead in the work of various interagency committees charged with providing guidance to the negotiators, but meetings are rarely productive. The officials involved spend hours haggling over minutiae and discussing uncontentious issues. "People are afraid to speak up," explains one regular participant. "They're afraid of the right wing."

Shultz partisans insist that in his own quiet, methodical, gradual way he is taking charge. They predict that in collaboration with the new director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Kenneth Adelman, Shultz will eventually not just counterbalance but replace Weinberger as the predominant Cabinet member on arms-control policy. But even if that happens, it could already be too late.

The Kremlin seems to think so. Last week TASS, the official Soviet news agency, was quick to dismiss suggestions of an interim solution as "absolutely unacceptable." With such pro-American figures as Thatcher beginning to qualify their adherence to the current U.S. position, the Soviets probably figure they have much to gain and little to lose by holding out for their own version of the zero option: no NATO missiles at all in exchange for token reductions on their side. Reagan joked last week about that very possibility. The Soviets, he said, agreed "halfway" with his reduction proposal: "They want *us* to remain at zero."

That is exactly what the Soviets want, and it is an outcome the West should certainly resist. Another, quite different "interim solution" that the Soviets might happily accept would be for NATO to suspend its deployment of the Tomahawks and Pershing IIs altogether as long as the INF negotiations continue. Some West German politicians have floated the idea of a "postponement option" along those lines.

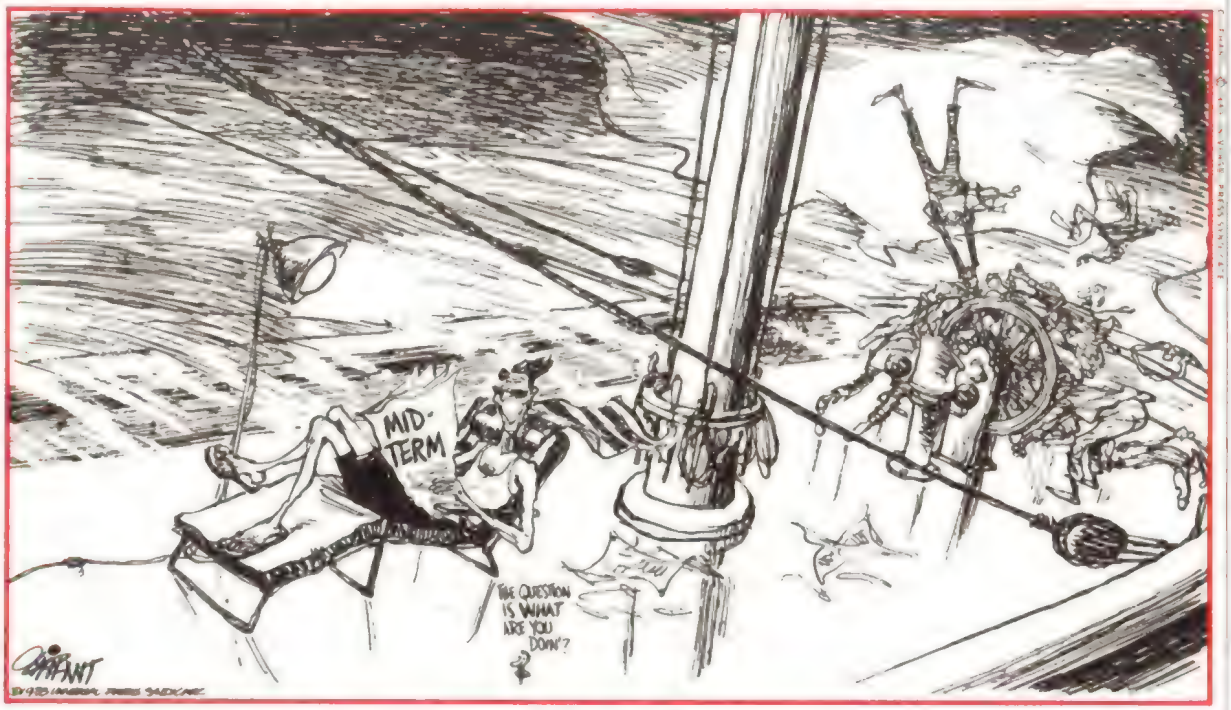
If NATO were forced to postpone deployment, either because of the German election results or a further breakdown in NATO solidarity, then the game would almost certainly be over, and the U.S.S.R. would have won the whole pot. Its negotiators could simply settle in for an interminably long and unproductive talkathon like the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) negotiations that have been dragging on in Vienna for almost ten years.

In preparation for the resumption of the INF talks and the Bush mission, Reagan held an hourlong meeting in the Oval Office last Friday with his top political aides, national security advisers and arms-control negotiators. "The coming round" of negotiations, said a presidential statement released afterward, "is particularly important because our far-reaching proposals, combined with our defense modernization programs, provide a strong incentive for reaching agreements on lower levels of forces."

Whether the Administration's proposals and policies are somehow heading toward an agreement with the Soviets, or whether they have pointed the U.S. toward a major crisis within the Western alliance and a breakdown of superpower arms-control negotiations, is the question of the hour and perhaps the question of the year. *—By Strobe Talbott. Reported by Bonnie Angelo/London, Roland Flamini/Bonn and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Washington, with other bureaus*

DAVID HUME KENNERLY

Clark, Weinberger and Ed Meese conferring on arms talks



'How'm I doin'?'

New Tactics at Half Time

In his State of the Union and budget messages, Reagan will shift his stance

"How time flies when you're having fun."

—Ronald Reagan at an informal news conference on the second anniversary of his Inauguration

The irony was unmistakable. For as everyone in the White House press room knew, the President is under siege at the half-time mark of his Administration. Indeed, more than a few of the inevitable stories analyzing his performance at the mid-point sound more like obituaries than dispassionate assessments.

Against this background, the State of the Union speech that Reagan is delivering this Tuesday night and the budget he is sending to Capitol Hill six days later have assumed even greater importance than is customary. They will bring the Administration, and the nation, to a critical test. At issue is whether Reagan can produce a credible program to nurture sustained recovery from the crippling recession that seems to have finally hit bottom. That in turn will go far to determine whether he can regain enough of the political momentum he lost in the past year to restore his effectiveness during the second half of his term.

Final touches were still being put to both documents over the weekend. But all last week Reagan was in effect rehearsing themes and lines for the two big messages: at the news session, at a fund-raising dinner in Chicago for Republican Senator Charles Percy and at a kind of mid-term pep rally in Washington for his political appointees. The sum of his remarks suggests that he may be about to moderate his harshly ideological stance just enough, and just in time, to stave off disaster.

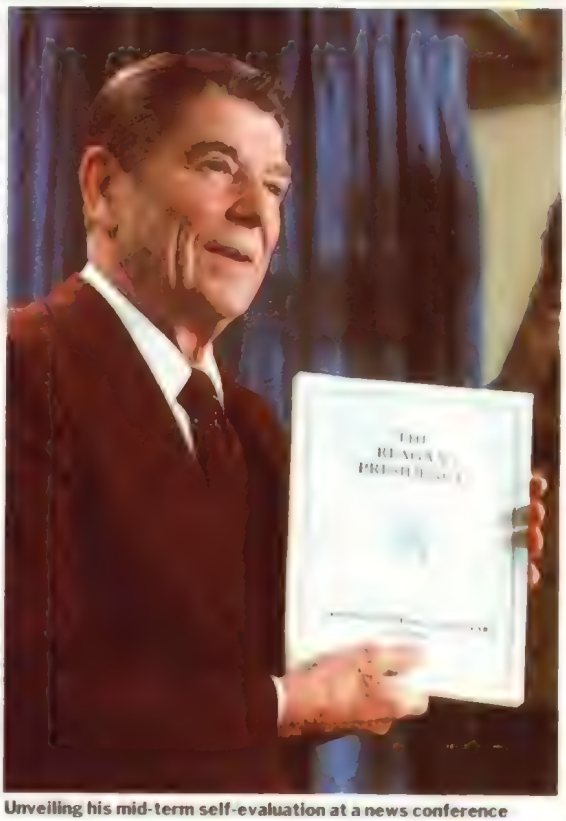
The most striking change is in tone. Last year's State of the Union speech was a self-confident stay-the-course message typified by this assertion to Congress: "I will not ask you to try to balance the budget on the backs of the American taxpayer." But last week he was stressing moderation and an appeal for bipartisan cooperation. To the Republican contributors at the Percy dinner, Reagan held up as a model the accord worked out among the White House, the National Commission on Social Security Reform and House Speaker Tip O'Neill, even though it includes huge tax increases. "Yes, it involves necessary compromise," said Reagan. "We must now seek similar answers to other problems weighing on our economy and on our people."

A comparable note of somber concern is creeping into the President's assessments of the economy too. Reagan is well aware that the recession has reinforced a widespread impression that he is indifferent to the sufferings of the poor and unemployed; some 300 demonstrators drove home the point last week by assembling in the bitter cold outside Chicago's Conrad Hilton Hotel and chanting, "We want jobs!" At the Percy dinner inside, the President told his partisan audience: "In the long run, economic growth will put our unemployed back to work, revive idle factories and open new doors of opportunity. But in the short run, our people continue to hurt. So we must take action." That marked a sharp contrast to Reagan's previous denunciations of "make-work" programs.

The policy changes accompanying this shift in rhetoric, however, are in some cases minor. Job programs are an example. Reagan is likely to suggest little more than a revival of his "enterprise zone" plan to give businesses tax breaks if they set up shop in city slums; a tiny increase of perhaps $300 million in job-training funds:

and permission for employers to pay subminimum wages to teenagers hired for summer jobs.

In other cases, however, the President is about to propose some far more important steps that he long resisted, notably a hold-down in military spending and some kind of stand-by plan to raise taxes if necessary to shrink gargantuan deficits. Nonetheless, these measures amount to much less than a wholesale retreat from Reaganomics. The President, indeed, sees himself quite accurately as making the minimal concessions necessary to keep a rebellious Congress from attacking the core of his program, chiefly the income tax cuts, the social spending rollback and the big military buildup. For that matter, the change in tone is also less than total. Echoes of the chipper, partisan Reagan of yore rang through the President's remarks last week, and doubtless will resound in the State of the Union speech as well. At his news briefing, Reagan once more pinned blame for the recession on "the overtaxing, overspending, over-regulating binge of the '60s and '70s . . . that we've finally started to correct." He added: "Nearly every economic indicator shows us heading into recovery. The same economists who were arguing a few months ago about how much worse the economy would get are now arguing how strong the recovery is going to be."



Unveiling his mid-term self-evaluation at a news conference

That was an overstatement. There was only one unqualifiedly good piece of economic news last week—though, to be sure, it was all important. The Consumer Price Index actually went down in December by 3%, only its second monthly decline in more than 17 years (the other also occurred under Reagan, last March). For all of 1982, prices rose a mere 3.9%, the smallest increase since 1972, when wage and price controls were in effect. Since Reagan took office the rate of inflation has been reduced by more than two-thirds, an achievement the President will crow about, with justification, in the State of the Union speech.

But other statistics made clear the high cost the nation has incurred to tame inflation. Total national production of goods and services, adjusted for inflation, dropped an unexpectedly sharp 2.5% in last year's final quarter. For all of 1982, real G.N.P. fell 1.8%, its worst tumble since 1946. U.S. mines and factories in December ran at only 67.3% of capacity, the lowest figure on record since these statistics were first compiled in 1948.

Even the gloomiest figures, though, now offer some paradoxical cheer. The fourth-quarter dive in G.N.P. resulted largely from a cleanout of inventories of unsold goods, especially cars. That puts business in a position to raise production sharply and rehire workers once final sales turn up, as auto sales already have. Housing starts last year, at 1,061,000, were the fewest since 1946. But the monthly rate, even after a December setback, has jumped 43% from its October 1981 low. Further increases are likely because of a sharp drop in mortgage interest rates that also was the primary force pushing down consumer prices in December. Personal income last year rose only 6.4%, the puniest increase in 19 years. Still, that was above the rate of inflation, so those Americans who are not among the 12 million unemployed enjoyed a genuine, though small, increase in their ability to buy goods and services.

On balance, the economy does seem to be poised for a recovery, but one that most economists still expect to be so slow that unemployment will remain above 10.5% for many months to come. More worrisome, there are signs that a vicious circle has begun that could block any sustained advance. The fourth-quarter drop in G.N.P. so reduced tax collections that the federal deficit in fiscal 1983, which started Oct. 1, is now certain to exceed $200 billion. That intensifies the threat that Government borrowing to cover the deficit will gobble up the lendable money needed to finance business investment and consumer buying. A group calling itself the Bi-Partisan Budget Appeal, headed by former Secretary of Commerce Peter Peterson, last week published an ad calling on Reagan to make draconian reductions in the deficit. The ad was signed by five former Secretaries of the Treasury and some 500 top lawyers, academicians and heads of blue-chip corporations.

Reagan, who long dismissed deficits as a kind of passing annoyance, formally recognized the danger last week. Said he: "A high priority must be to get a hammerlock on this monster known as the federal budget." It is too late now to do anything much about fiscal 1983, but White House aides hope to propose a budget lowering the fiscal 1984 deficit to $188 billion. By their figuring, that would be $47 billion less red ink than could be expected if all federal programs were to continue unchanged. (Both numbers were calculated at the end of last week and could be revised further.)

A big chunk of the saving would be provided by the payroll-tax hike and delay in benefit increases recommended last week by the Social Security commission. The rest would come from an $8 billion reduction in planned military spending already announced by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, skipping of a pay increase for federal employees, a delay in cost of living increases for federal civilian and military as well as Social Security pensioners, and further reductions in such social programs as food stamps, Medicare and Medicaid. Overall, the aim is to freeze most nondefense spending at fiscal 1983 levels in dollar terms. That would mean real cutbacks in many programs; how severe would depend on the rate of inflation. In both his State of the Union speech and budget message, Reagan is sure to sound the theme that everyone must sacrifice in order to get the deficits under control.

After some eleventh-hour fluttering, the White House also settled last week on the outlines of its tax proposals. Reagan was expected to ask Congress to enact immediately a levy on imported oil and a surcharge on individual income taxes that would not go into effect until Oct. 1, 1985, and then only if the deficit in the fiscal year that begins on that date seems likely to exceed 2% of G.N.P. That would work out to around $100 billion of red ink a year. The President's hope is that spending cuts and economic recovery will make the increase unnecessary. But, says one high official, the stand-by proposal "has the double advantage of not raising taxes now that would hinder economic recovery and showing the capital markets that something will be done about the deficit in the long run."

Reagan was expected to leave himself another out: the tax boosts would take effect only if Congress in the next two years fails to enact a tax simplification plan. The President intends to pledge that he will study and eventually submit a proposal that would trade wholesale repeal of ex-

emptions and deductions for a lower and narrower range of income tax rates than the present 14% to 50%. That would be a variation of the flat-tax idea that many reformers, both conservative and liberal, urge on grounds of both simplicity and equity (since everyone with approximately the same income would pay the same tax). Said Reagan last week: "The top priority in taxes in this country is to have a tax system that people can understand."

Whatever Reagan's final detailed proposals might be, Congress is virtually certain to demand a faster and more certain drop in the deficit than the President envisions. Democrats, with some Republican support, will howl that Reagan's plans constitute anything but an equitable sharing of sacrifice and that the poor have been forced to give up far too much already. They will insist on increases in some social spending, accompanied by deeper slashes out of the Pentagon budget than Reagan will recommend.

Even some of the President's aides consider the proposal for stand-by tax increases to be a "Rube Goldberg" scheme that the legislature will reject. The tax-writing committees of Congress are loath to let the President specify the conditions under which levies should be raised. Republicans Robert Dole of Kansas, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and Barber Conable of New York, a tax expert in the House, put their opposition on the record last week. Many Congressmen and Senators also feel that a plan to raise taxes only if certain conditions prevail is inadequate. They will propose a surcharge that would take effect in late 1985, come what may.

Still, Reagan probably has bent enough to avoid a repetition of last year, when, as one of his subordinates puts it, his budget "got laughed out of town." The Republican Senate will be eager to find compromises that he might accept. The Democrats who control the House have enough leverage to force further adjustments, but not to enact an alternative program, even in the unlikely event that they could agree on one. The big question is whether the President's recommendations, and the modifications that Congress enacts, will in fact promote the recovery that Reagan belatedly recognizes is essential to his political survival and to the health of the nation. *—By George J. Church. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett and David Beckwith/Washington*

Man for the Mid-Point

If some of the sharp ideological edge has receded from Ronald Reagan's political rhetoric at midterm and a new realism shows in his policies, one Washington insider may be more responsible than any other. He is James Baker, the President's calm, soft-spoken chief of staff, who helped Gerald Ford in 1976 and George Bush in 1980 oppose Reagan for the Republican Party's presidential nomination. The former Texas lawyer has become the President's most influential White House crisis manager. Says a fellow presidential assistant about Baker: "He is the guy who is now driving the policy in this Administration. The President has become very dependent on him."

Not always. In the inaugural troika of aides—Baker, Ed Meese and Michael Deaver—Reagan seemed to listen to Meese most carefully on policy matters and to Deaver for political and personal advice. Baker mainly ran the shop and deferred to Reagan's two veteran associates. The troika has since become a quartet with the addition a year ago of William Clark as National Security Adviser, who has the dominant voice on foreign policy. But on such crucial domestic issues as the budget and Social Security, Baker has emerged with his hands on the steering wheel, deftly maneuvering Reagan away from any rigid course.

Baker's pragmatism was not always welcome. He had tried to persuade Reagan in 1981 to accept cuts in his record buildup of military spending and to increase taxes in order to avoid horrendous budget deficits. But he pushed too hard and too publicly, and was rebuffed. Stung, Baker patiently coaxed presidential aides to come around to his view. When they did, they presented a consensus that Reagan could scarcely ignore. "The President has discovered that Baker has been right in the long run," contends one aide.

DAVID HUME KENNERLY

White House Chief of Staff James Baker

Baker led the White House team as the blue-ribbon commission on Social Security struggled to reach a compromise before its charter ran out. He argued inside the White House that failure to preserve the solvency of the Social Security system "not only had the potential of destroying this Administration, but the entire party." Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, a member of the commission, praised Baker as "a superb staff man." Says an aide to Republican Senate leaders admiringly: "Baker is a master poker player. He never shows his cards—and he wins."

The transplanted Texan's single-minded focus on the politics of problems is both a strength and a weakness. Baker, 52, readily concedes that he is not expert on most domestic programs and policy issues and relies heavily on his top aide, Richard Darman, for help on such matters. He also relies on the White House's congressional lobbyist, Kenneth Duberstein, to handle the details of legislative strategy.

Once a Democrat—he became a Republican in 1970—Baker has long been anathema to the far right. Often conservatives have tried to persuade Reagan to drop Baker. "Jim is a reasonable person who sits down with the opposition and works things out," complains Richard Viguerie, the right's direct-mail expert, who considers such reasonableness a weakness. In Viguerie's view, Baker "doesn't understand confrontation politics."

The activists of the right have given up fighting Baker and instead are now criticizing Ronald Reagan directly. "The leftward drift has turned into a stampede," says Viguerie about the President and his policies. Baker is unconcerned about the flak from the right. He comments: "I'm feeling pretty good right now."

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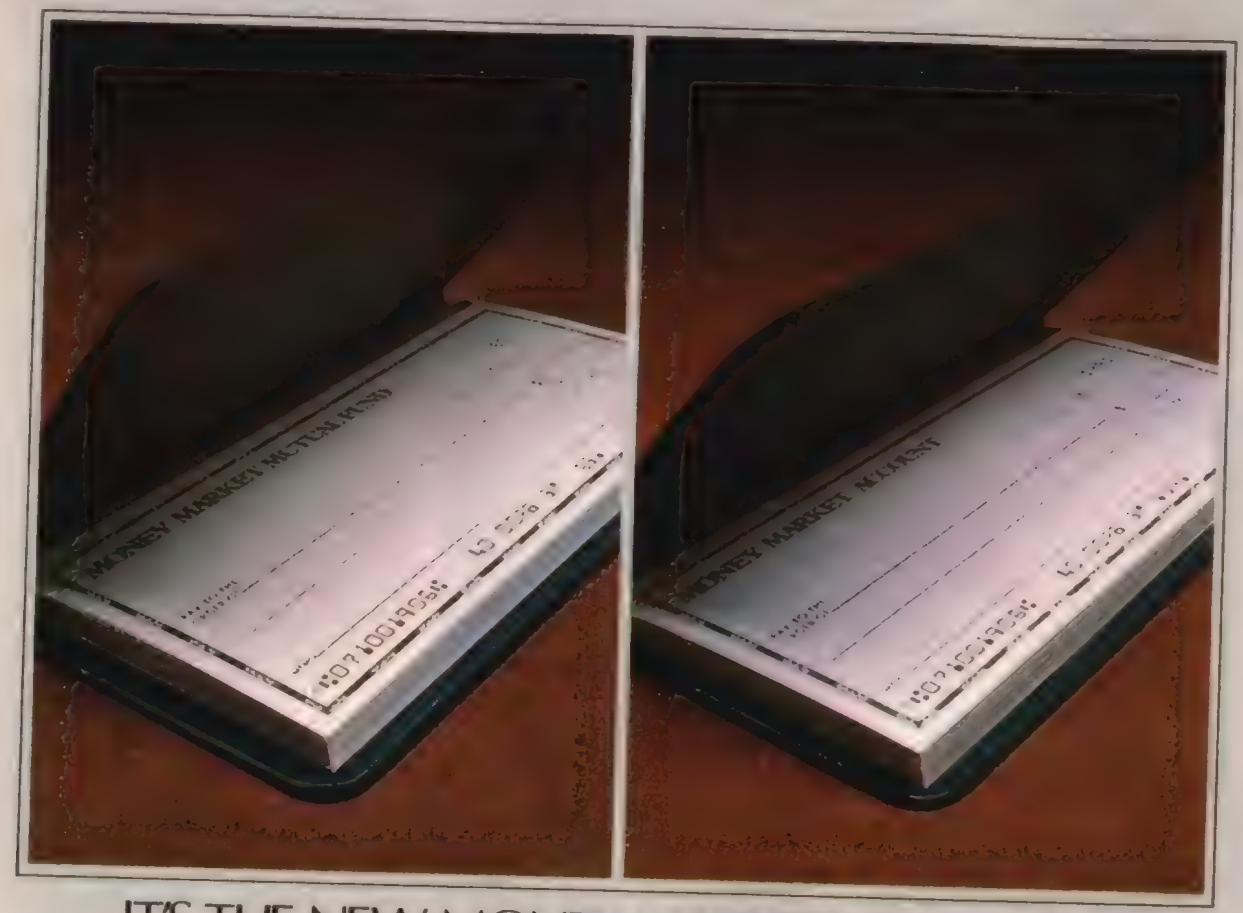

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Assaulted from All Sides

Yet the Social Security reform plan may get through Congress

When Republican Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, introduces a bill entitled S.1 this week, he will be the first of a phalanx of blockers trying to mow down obstacles to congressional approval of a $168 billion Social Security compromise package. With the bipartisan blessings of President Reagan and House Speaker Tip O'Neill, the National Commission on Social Security Reform hammered together the agreement hours short of its Jan. 15 deadline. The commission's success, after months of deadlock, may have saved the entire Social Security issue from becoming fatally ensnared in a ferocious wrangle on Capitol Hill. Even so, predicts Republican Congressman Barber Conable of New York, one of the so-called Gang of Five that helped produce the 15-member commission's compromise agreement: "The package will be assaulted from all sides."

Armstrong: railing against tax hikes

Pepper: defending the compromise

A phalanx ready for the fight: better than throwing the issue into the whirlpool again.

First to spring was the Fund for Assuring an Independent Retirement (FAIR), a powerful coalition of about 6 million active and retired civil servants. Barely had the commission's final report appeared, when FAIR began mounting a $3 million lobbying and public relations campaign against a proposed requirement that newly hired federal employees participate in the system. FAIR charges that the switch would bankrupt the healthy $96 billion civil service retirement fund, saddle Congress with $185 billion in future uncovered pension obligations, and deprive the Government of $2 billion in taxes now paid on their benefits by federal retirees.

The 14 million-member American Association of Retired Persons (A.A.R.P.) vehemently denounced provisions requiring a six-month delay in cost of living adjustments (COLA) for benefits and accelerating payroll tax hikes through 1990. A.A.R.P. is especially outraged by a requirement that, starting in 1984, will impose taxes on half of the benefits of individuals with annual incomes above $20,000 and couples above $25,000.

By contrast, the 4 million-member National Council of Senior Citizens and the 5,000-member National Council on the Aging, while objecting to the COLA delay, were relieved that the basic principles of Social Security had been preserved. Said one senior-citizen spokesman: "When you get legislators and White House leaders recognizing the kind of commitments the Government has made under Social Security, you don't want to upset that."

The Service Employees International Union (S.E.I.U.), which represents custodial and building-service workers, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (A.F.S.C.M.E.) cheered provisions that 1) require Social Security coverage for nonprofit organizations, which may now elect not to participate, and 2) ban the withdrawal of state and local government employees from the system. These unions maintain that their memberships are better served by Social Security than by private pension plans.

Spurred by rising Social Security costs and doubts about the system's future, growing numbers of church, school, hospital and municipal groups have been pulling out of the Social Security system and patronizing less expensive private pension plans; if they all withdrew, Social Security would lose a potential $18 billion in revenue. As of last fall, 456 hospitals and 399 nonprofits of other kinds had notified the Social Security Administration, which requires two years' advance warning, of their intention to forgo coverage; between 1950 and 1981, only 159 such organizations had dropped out. From 1975 to 1981, however, 606 state and local governments, employing 145,000 workers, left the Social Security system; at the end of 1982, about 100 more units withdrew and 387 had given notice that they would terminate in 1983 and 1984. Total employees affected: 242,000, including 55,000 from Los Angeles County alone, accounting for $140 million in lost revenue to the Social Security system. According to some legal scholars the proposed ban on withdrawals in effect imposes a federal tax on states, a possible violation of the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, protecting states' rights. Proponents of reform expect stiff court tests on this point.

Among the politicians, battles may flare over two partisan provisions that seek to alleviate the $1.6 trillion Social Security deficit projected over the next 75 years: a Republican-endorsed proposal to raise the retirement age from 65 to 66 after the year 2000, and a Democrat-endorsed plan to increase the payroll tax by .46% in 2010, bringing it to 8.11% at that time. The most formidable opposition to the proposed reforms may come from Republican Senators Jesse Helms of North Carolina, Steve Symms of Idaho and Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas. They have joined forces with fellow Republicans, Senator William Armstrong of Colorado, chairman of the Social Security Subcommittee, and Representative Bill Archer of Texas, two of the three commission members who voted against the final plan. The coalition opposes the agreement's tax hikes and levies on benefits. Armstrong, who has filibustered on lesser issues, denies that he will attempt to talk the reform bill to death. "I don't want to kill it. I want to improve it."

Despite all the nibbling and posturing, however, the commission package appears to have a good chance of surviving Congress. Admits Armstrong: "The odds don't favor victory for the opposition." Democratic Representative Claude Pepper of Florida, 82, chairman of the House Rules Committee and a key commission member, summed up his support this way: "While the compromise is not to my liking, it is better than throwing Social Security into the whirlpool." —*By Susan Tifft.*

Reported by Jeanne Saddler and Evan Thomas/Washington

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Finding Peace in Strength

Hitler in 1935: the burden of history

There is a melancholy echo these days for Richard Helms, former head of the CIA, as he trudges to the Pentagon and pulls up a chair in the somber interior of Room 3E333. He and ten other members of the President's Commission on Strategic Forces have been asked to design the free world's nuclear deterrent for the rest of this century. Helms' entire adult life has been given to studying and acting against forces that would quell freedom. The problem probably cannot be solved for more than a few years at a time, a fact that Helms accepts but many Americans find hard to digest.

As Helms nears 70, his belief that strength brings peace, that vigilance thwarts aggression, is undimmed. And so he is back in public service, alarmed at the rising number of people in the free world who accept without question Soviet declarations of peace, who grow flaccid out of fear of Soviet strength. The cycle repeats itself.

Fifty years ago this Sunday, Jan. 30, 1933, when Helms was a Williams College sophomore getting ready for exams, he heard that Adolf Hitler had become dictator of Germany. Two years later, in the fall of 1935, Helms was a United Press reporter in Berlin, hunched forward in his seat in the Kroll Opera House watching Hitler rant against the Versailles Treaty. "I noticed that Hitler had become rather pale," Helms recalls. "He was passing a handkerchief back and forth between his hands underneath the lectern." Suddenly Helms understood. "At this moment," Hitler shouted, "German troops are crossing the Rhine bridges and occupying the Rhineland!" His mesmerized audience cheered wildly. Helms, then 23, was stunned. The world shrugged.

In the summer of 1936, Helms covered America's greatest hero, Charles Lindbergh, who became frightened by German air might after Hermann Göring showed him the huge air force he was building. That September, Helms was in Nuremberg at the Nazi Party Congress, where uniformed ranks roared their devotion to Hitler and flights of new bombers thundered endlessly overhead. In all his subsequent years in and around power, Helms has never seen anything quite like it.

Helms rode in the car behind Hitler in a motorcade through Nuremberg, where the frenzy spilled down every street. At the Burg, a medieval castle, Hitler came out on the battlement for one of his rare interviews. Helms was seized by conflicting emotions. He looked down on Hitler, who was smaller than Helms had thought. Hitler's handshake was firm. But his personality was not hypnotic. His eyes possessed no power, as the myths had it. Hitler's skin was coarse and his mustache slightly gray. His bottom teeth were gold-plated, which made Helms suspect they were false. Hitler's smile was humorless but his manner was pleasant enough. What was it about this plain man that had brought him so far, Helms wondered as Hitler talked of his hatred of Bolshevism, of the value of the party congress. Later, Helms would write: "No imagination could make anything godlike out of the ordinary mortal who chatted on that day. The striking things were the ready intelligence, the understanding of German psychology, the complete assuredness." But the sad fact was that Helms was only one of a small group of journalists and diplomats who understood the Nazi menace when there might have been time to stop Hitler.

There is no Hitler in today's world, in Helms' view. The adversary is many men, many nations and many systems. The measures of strength are economic as much as military. But the basic challenge, believes Helms, remains unchanged: how to preserve freedom while preventing war. The world failed with Hitler. It has succeeded for nearly four decades since World War II, largely through U.S. strength and resolve. Now doubt assails us again.

So each day Helms makes his way to Room 3E333 carrying with him the memories of what started just half a century ago next week in Germany, when Hitler rose to power and weary nations turned away from danger and refused the burden of leadership. Helms is trying to make sure it does not happen again.

The Silencers

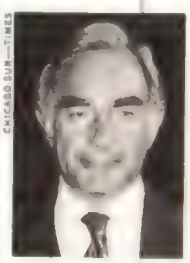
Seven shots fell Allen Dorfman

Allen Dorfman, above all else, was a survivor. Introduced to the young Jimmy Hoffa in 1949, when the future Teamsters boss was but an ambitious union leader in Detroit, Dorfman parlayed that friendship into a multimillion-dollar insurance empire whose most lucrative account was the union's Central States Health and Welfare Fund. From 1958 to 1971, when Hoffa headed the Teamsters, Dorfman emerged as his powerful lieutenant. Before Hoffa was led off to jail in 1967 for jury tampering, he told subordinates, "When Dorfman speaks, he speaks for me."

Hoffa was presumably murdered in 1975, when he disappeared without a trace. But Hoffa's successor, Frank Fitzsimmons, continued to allow Dorfman to control the union's pension fund, and Dorfman prospered in the murky, billion-dollar swamp of Teamsters loans and land deals. A dapper dresser fond of a round of golf and the company of old cronies, he lived with his wife Lynn in a $750,000 home in the Chicago suburb of Riverwoods.

In 1972, Dorfman was convicted of accepting a kickback of $55,000 on a pension-fund loan and served nine months in jail. Last December, as a result of an FBI probe dubbed "Operation Pendorf" (for penetrate Dorfman), he and Teamsters President Roy Williams were convicted of conspiring to bribe former Democratic Senator Howard Cannon of Nevada in return for his putative help in blocking a trucking deregulation bill. Scheduled to be sentenced on Feb. 10, Dorfman, 60, faced up to 55 years in prison.

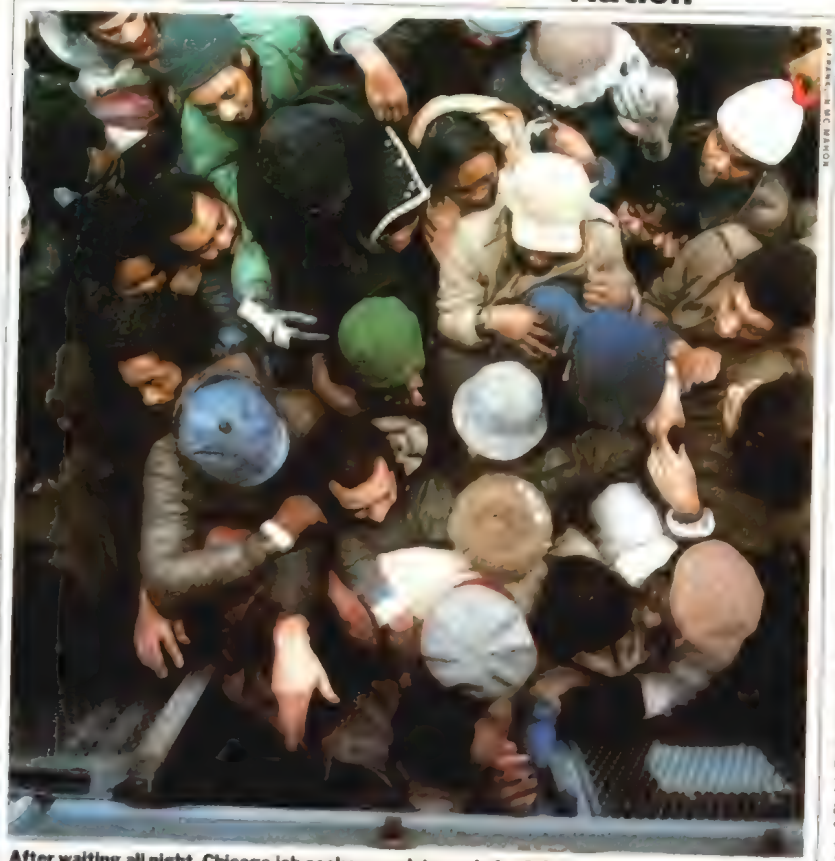
Last week, as Dorfman and Irwin Weiner, his former partner in Mob-connected enterprises, walked to lunch through the parking lot of the suburban Hyatt Lincolnwood Hotel near Chicago, two men wearing ski masks ran up behind them. "This is a stickup!" yelled one. But obviously it was not. The man opened fire immediately with a .22-cal. handgun, hitting Dorfman in the back of the head seven times. As the attackers fled, Dorfman lay dying in a pool of blood. Weiner was uninjured.



CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

Dorfman

Law enforcement authorities speculated that somebody was fearful that Dorfman might seek to cut his jail sentence by telling Teamsters or underworld secrets. Said Patrick F. Healy, executive director of the Chicago Crime Commission: "A lot of people in the criminal world will sleep better tonight knowing that Dorfman is silenced." Silence comes often around Chicago: this was the area's 1,081st gangland-style killing since the commission began keeping records in 1919. ■



After waiting all night, Chicago job seekers push to apply for 3,800 temporary city positions

Tales of Ten Cities

With wit and grit, Midwestern communities try to cope

"Laughing the stormy, husky, brawling laughter of Youth, half-naked, sweating, proud to be Hog Butcher, Tool Maker, Stacker of Wheat, Player with Railroads and Freight Handler to the Nation."

Carl Sandburg's description of Chicago at the beginning of the century was every bit as accurate for the rest of the Midwest. With its raw energy and perpetual motion, the nation's heartland was synonymous with prosperous cities. Over the years, Chicago became identified with hogs, Toledo with glass, Detroit with automobiles, Akron with rubber, Youngstown with steel, Peoria with Caterpillar tractors. Today, however, in the cities that once were flagships of the region, unemployment has generally risen higher than in any other area of the U.S. Hit first and hardest by the recession, the Midwest may be the last region in the country to recover. Nonetheless, there are signs everywhere of a stubborn spirit and resilience. Here is a sampler of how ten Midwest cities are coping:

CHICAGO. Sandburg's "City of the Big Shoulders" (pop. 3 million) has become schizophrenic. In this updated tale of two cities, one is prospering, the other increasingly depressed. For the latter, officials are trying to speed up a successful shift from heavy industry to a finance and service economy. "Chicago has known for 25 years that its future was not going to be based on steel mills or stockyards," says Louis Masotti, a Northwestern University political scientist. "What is happening is a realignment of priorities and of purpose."

Downtown, new office towers rise in curvilinear splendor. On the West Side, the first of a series of high-tech parks has opened, with two genetic-technology firms as the first tenants. Plans for the 1992 World's Fair are under way. Indeed, a local business publication predicts a spirited upturn this year and says the long-term future looks even brighter. Still, in the other part of Chicago, the old world of smokestacks and stockyards, the recession dominates. The city has lost 160,000 jobs in the past decade, mostly in manufacturing. The steel mills that rim Lake Michigan from Chicago to Burns Harbor, Ind., are idling. Giant International Harvester, long one of the city's most robust corporations, is on the brink of bankruptcy, and the aging Wisconsin Steel plant has closed. Unemployment stands at 12.8%, with 190,967 people out of work. More than 20,000 applied for 3,800 temporary jobs offered by Mayor Jane Byrne earlier this month. The state of Illinois' projected $200 million cash shortfall is certain to affect the city adversely.

CLEVELAND. In 1978, after Cleveland became the first major American city since the Depression to go into default, even Clevelanders began telling Cleveland jokes. Sample: What's the difference between Cleveland and the Titanic? Cleveland has a better orchestra. Now, however, the city can also boast about the enthusiasm of Mayor George Voinovich, which has helped trigger a new civic pride and a modest building boom. Standard Oil Co. of Ohio is constructing its new headquarters near Lake Erie. At 46 floors, it will be the state's largest office building. New towers are rising for Ohio Bell and the Medical Mutual Center, too. But despite the signs of life, Cleveland's manufacturing base has weakened; 84,000 blue-collar jobs have been lost since 1968. As in most other big cities, young people, especially blacks and other minorities, are suffering disproportionately. The youth unemployment rate has risen to 38%, from 24% in 1979, and, for minority youth, to almost 53%, from 33%. Says Voinovich: "Keeping people alive has become our No. 1 responsibility. Everything else we want to do has been pushed down the list."

While trying to attract new industry, local officials are also struggling to spruce up the city. City planners estimate that Cleveland (pop. 574,000) will need to invest at least $1.2 billion just to repair and rehabilitate its roads, bridges and water system. Plagued by school-system deficits, the city is facing a shortfall of $20 million next year. But the ever optimistic mayor insists there is a greener future beyond the blue-collar blues.

DAVENPORT. Shortly before Christmas, an anonymous donor sent checks for $4,000 each to eight Catholic parishes in Iowa's Davenport area with instructions to use the money to hire unemployed parishioners. The giveaway was about the only good news to come out of Davenport (pop. 103,000) in 1982. The city is part of an industrial oasis on the border between Iowa and Illinois, surrounded by fertile farm land and overlooking the Mississippi River, that includes Iowa's Bettendorf and Rock Island and Illinois' Moline. The Quad Cities region, as it is called, has a 17.5% unemployment rate now, but only two years ago the area was booming, seemingly insulated from the country's economic ups and downs. However, high interest rates and low crop prices hit farmers hard at the same time that the national economic malaise was drying up the market for the Quad Cities' most im-

portant industrial products: heavy construction equipment and farm implements. The cities' major employers, Deere, International Harvester, J.I. Case, Caterpillar and Alcoa, have laid off thousands of workers. On Jan. 4, some 1,800 people showed up to apply for 250 jobs at a packing plant in nearby Joslin, Ill. Says Congressman Jim Leach, who represents Davenport in Congress: "The Quad Cities will never recover until agricultural prices go up and inflation goes down."

DETROIT. When the Lions played the Washington Redskins in the first round of the N.F.L. playoffs, Detroit sportscasters suggested throwing the football game. "Let's not rile Washington any more," cautioned one radio announcer. "We need a win in Congress more than we need a win for the Lions." The Motor City has got neither. With unemployment at 20% overall, and nearly 35% for blacks, Mayor Coleman Young last month declared a "hunger emergency." City agencies estimate that as many as one-third of the city's 1.2 million residents go to bed hungry every night. The Federal Government sent 17,000 lbs. of frozen turkeys, but Young wants money more than poultry. He warned that some cities and states face bankruptcy unless Washington loosens the purse strings. Said the mayor: "It seems as if Washington doesn't know what's going on. I don't understand what planet they are on."

Shrinking revenues from payroll taxes and corporate taxes, as well as cuts in state and federal aid, have created a $40 million budget deficit for Detroit. U.S. auto companies sold fewer cars in 1982 than at any time in the past two decades, leaving 270,000 workers laid off indefinitely. Downtown Detroit is a battered shell. The mainstay of its retail establishment, J.L. Hudson, closed last week after 92 years. Renaissance Center, the Oz-like hotel and office showplace on Detroit's river front, which was to be the centerpiece of its urban renewal, defaulted two weeks ago and is still up for sale (asking price: $275 million, down from $500 million last spring). One bright spot in a dreary year: a revival in the inner city, with old office buildings being transformed into condominium apartments. Says Developer Max Fisher, who has invested in a $77 million apartment complex on the Detroit River: "To make downtown shopping viable, we need to have people living there."

FORT WAYNE. When the Maumee, St. Marys and St. Joseph rivers flooded last March, 60,000 residents of this flat, industrial city took to the riverbanks, stacking sandbags at a rate of 25,000 an hour to contain most of the overflow. Even Ronald Reagan joined the sandbag brigade for a while. The effort curtailed the severity of the flood and captured the imagination of the country. Fort Wayne (pop. 172,000) became known as "the city that saved itself."

Now this family-oriented blue-collar city faces a challenge that is hardly less dramatic: coping with an ebbing economic tide. Poor demand for products of the area's manufacturing-based economy has boosted the unemployment rate to 11.8%. In September, International Harvester, the city's second-largest employer, decided to reduce production drastically, scuttling 1,500 jobs over the next year. But the loss was a "cloud with a silver lining of great depth," insists Mayor Winfield Moses, who helped launch a spirited campaign to diversify the city's economy, save and expand existing businesses and lure new industry. Moses created the city's first economic development department. Taking advantage of publicity about the flood, the department has begun inviting companies to locate in "the city that saved itself." Bids are soon to be let on a $24 million convention center. The local Chamber of Commerce is planning a five-year marketing strategy to create new high-technology jobs. Says Moses: "This was really a status quo community for the past two decades. We've got to change. We're trying to do something about it."

The beer that made Milwaukee famous: the home-town brewery was closed by new owner Stroh

MILWAUKEE. In this city, 1982 will be remembered as a black year. Schlitz, the beer that made Milwaukee famous, was no longer brewed in town. The company shut the brewery in 1981 because of falling demand. Then Schlitz left town for good when the Stroh Brewery Co. of Detroit acquired it. The loss of the home-town brewery was a severe psychological blow. Another Milwaukee tradition, the Harley-Davidson motorcycle company, has been outgunned by Japanese competition. Until this recession, Milwaukee (pop. 636,000) had prospered through fair economic times and foul. Its unemployment rate, along with Wisconsin's, was historically lower than the national average. Now it is higher: 13.4% for the city (11.5% for the state). Layoffs and plant closings in the city, which used to call itself the "machine shop of the world," have left residents bitter and dispirited, with 50,000 out of work.

More than 20,000 people lined up in 20° weather last week to apply for 200 jobs at an auto-frame factory. The growing number of previously middle-class families who now need public assistance has prompted strapped Milwaukee County to consider programs to discourage people from going on welfare. One proposal, known as "two hots and a cot," would have provided welfare recipients with a place to sleep and two meals a day instead of cash grants. More than 80 food pantries where the needy can get emergency food have sprung up throughout the city. Says Barbara Notestein of Milwaukee's hunger task force: "We've never had the kind of demand for emergency food that we're

In Detroit, students flock to a training program that teaches the jobless machinist skills

experiencing now." In 1982, the only highlights were the opening of the city's snazzy $70 million glass-and-steel downtown mall, and the pennant-winning performance of the Milwaukee Brewers. Alas, or perhaps predictably in this down year for Milwaukee, they lost the World Series.

MINNEAPOLIS–ST. PAUL. It has often been named one of the country's most livable locales, and it continues to be so. Unlike many other Midwestern hubs, the Twin Cities of Minneapolis–St. Paul (pop. 641,000) are thriving on a good economic mix. Moving beyond such staples as Pillsbury Co. and the Cargill Inc. grain company, adventurous entrepreneurs are founding new businesses in electronics and biotechnology, making the area a good candidate to become the Silicon Valley of the Midwest. Top-of-the-line boutiques, trendy restaurants, fine art and music flourish amid Minneapolis' gleaming high-rise towers and the restored Victorian houses of St. Paul. Unemployment is 7.4%, the highest since the Depression but still well below the national average.

But the recession has cast its shadow. Residents have experienced a spate of problems in recent months, ranging from such largely symbolic blows as the collapse of the Hubert H. Humphrey Metrodome Stadium roof to a deeply worrisome and basic one: the state's deteriorating financial condition. Farm bankruptcies, once practically nonexistent, are on the rise. Growing unemployment has caused state revenues to plummet, and lawmakers have raised taxes twice in the past year. A billion-dollar revenue shortfall in the next two years is predicted for the state. Says a concerned construction worker who has been employed for only twelve weeks in the past year: "I feel like everything is closing in on us all at once."

OMAHA. Grocer Phil Morrison is offering his unemployed customers a 5% discount on their food bills in his three stores on the North Side. "We hope to keep it going only as long as needed," Morrison says. In pinched days as well as prosperous, Omaha folk pride themselves on their friendliness and pioneer spirit. Nebraska's largest city (pop. 312,000) has a 7.7% unemployment rate, up from 4.9% last year, high by Omaha standards, but lower than in most other major Midwestern cities. Once better known for the rank odor of the stockyards, which occupied most of the south side, than for any other attribute, Omaha began nudging its economy into new avenues years ago. Today, only one of every eight jobs in the area is related to manufacturing. Its largest employer, the Strategic Air Command of the U.S. Air Force, provides more than 13,000 fairly recession-proof jobs for military and civilian workers. Other large firms, such as the Union Pacific Railroad Co. and Mutual of Omaha insurance, have kept their work forces essentially intact.

Cleveland's new $78.5 million medical tower

Civic pride and a modest building boom.

ST. LOUIS. When the 1980 census figures were revealed, St. Louis seemed to be down for the count. Statistics showed that during the 1970s its population (453,000) had dropped more, proportionately, than any other major city's—a finding that cost St. Louis millions of dollars in federal aid. Jolted by the news, the city launched a booster campaign that has helped it endure the economic slump. A downtown building boom has catapulted it into the nation's top six cities for new construction. Projects under way include a four-story mall that will be the largest enclosed shopping center in the country.

Despite its best efforts at morale building, the city is hurting. For years the nation's second-largest automobile assembly center, St. Louis was devastated by the slump that hit the car industry in 1979. Unemployment is at 11%. A General Motors plant in the city, which once manufactured everything from pickup trucks to Corvettes and provided jobs for 10,000, now employs only 1,400. Chrysler Corp. closed its truck plant in nearby Fenton, throwing 4,300 people onto the street. There are some signs, however, that St. Louis may have more to cheer about next year than the World Series–winning Cardinals: Chrysler is adding a new shift of 1,700 to its Fenton auto assembly plant, anticipating a brisk demand for its new line of G24 sports cars.

WICHITA. Four years ago, this community's fortunes were so high that its main problem was finding enough workers to accept its jobs. A bustling producer of meat, wheat, planes, oil and gas, Wichita (pop. 279,000) had the remarkably low unemployment rate of 2.8%. With rows of aerospace plants and enormous grain elevators rising from the prairies, it exuded a robust self-confidence. But the aircraft industry, as well as others, nose-dived. More than 20,000 workers were laid off, and the unemployment rate is now 8.5%. "If we can just get people through the next six to nine months, things will be a lot better," says Don Anderson, director of the city's housing and economic-development program.

City fathers regard their current problems as a temporary setback and are banking on Wichita's diversified aircraft industry to ignite a new takeoff. Beech Aircraft, Cessna and Gates Learjet serve the general aviation market, while production at Boeing, the city's largest employer, is 55% defense related. Boeing and Beech reportedly plan to hire 8,000 more employees over the next few years. Unlike many other Midwest cities, Wichita may need no major economic retooling. Says Jerry Mallot, a Chamber of Commerce official: "Much of our industry is in the high-tech area. We don't produce steel or autos. We have the products of the future."

—By Maureen Dowd. Reported by Barbara B. Dolan/Detroit and J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago

Angry Aftermath of a Shootout

Memphis police are under fire after a bloody siege

At first the outcome seemed but the tragic last act in a weird drama pitting police against crazed cultists. But as fresh details began to emerge about the bloody siege that left one policeman and seven blacks dead in Memphis two weeks ago, the judgment and conduct of police officials in handling the 30-hr. ordeal triggered a citywide debate and at least one federal probe. Said Maxine Smith, executive secretary of the Memphis chapter of the N.A.A.C.P.: "The police did not go into the house to apprehend, but to kill." Ray Maples, president of the Memphis Police Association, countered angrily: "I think [these critics] are all mental cases."

The battle began when a phone call about a purse-snatching brought the police to a black, working-class neighborhood in north Memphis. No suspects were found, so they left. A second call complaining about the handling of the case prompted two patrolmen to visit 2239 Shannon, where they were set upon by the occupants. Two other officers then arrived on the scene. Shots were fired, and three patrolmen fled the house. But one, Robert Hester, 34, was captured and held hostage.

The abductors were members of a freaky religious cult, and included its leader, Lindberg Sanders, 49, an unemployed construction worker. Besides refusing to eat pork or drink water, they believed police to be agents of the devil. After 30 hours of futile negotiations, the authorities surrounding the house became convinced that Officer Hester had been murdered. Six members of TACT (for Tactical Apprehension Containment Team), stormed the dwelling, and in the ensuing struggle all seven cultists were killed. Hester was found inside, badly battered and dead for several hours.

Holt, right, and TACT officer at briefing

In a 2½-hr. press conference last week, Memphis police officials tried to bury any doubts about whether the raid had been handled properly, but the effect of their performance was quite the opposite. The most unnerving fact: five of the seven men died from gunshot wounds in the head. Six of the seven had been shot and killed in a single 9-ft. by 11-ft. bedroom. Afterward, only one gun was found. When asked how the aim of the TACT officers could be so accurate in a darkened house full of tear gas and smoke, Police Director John Holt explained that the TACT team had guns with lights mounted on them and had been trained to shoot for the head.

By the Memphis police department's own admission, the cultists all together had only two .38-cal. pistols, wrested from the policemen at the outset of the struggle. The rest of their weapons cache consisted of little more than two hunting knives. A total of twelve rounds were squeezed off by Sanders' followers throughout the siege, compared with 80 rounds fired by the TACT team during the assault. But Holt contended that the decision to attack had come only after police decided that no alternatives remained.

Many in Memphis disagreed. Some members of the black community accused the police of charging into the house with the express desire to kill. Observed Shelby County Commissioner Walter Bailey: "A policeman's job is not to mete out punishment. They went in there with the attitude that they would take no prisoners." The Justice Department already has instructed the local FBI office to look into the incident, while Democratic Congressman Harold Ford of Memphis called on Attorney General William French Smith to appoint a special team from Washington to conduct a comprehensive investigation. ■

Definitely House Hunting

In a small khaki tent that shakes and rocks from the 18-wheelers roaring past on the interstate below, Mike MacKay, 30, cooks instant soup on his hot plate, clears his table on top of a portable toilet and defiantly mutters a solemn vow. "I'm set to do this for two or three years," he says. "My wife and I are determined to get a house." Pitted in a bizarre promotional contest to win an $18,000 mobile home, donated by Love Homes, a Pennsylvania firm, MacKay and two other men have been camping for the past 18 weeks on a 6-ft. by 48-ft. platform at the base of a billboard nearly overhanging the interstate cloverleaf in Allentown, Pa. Whoever stays longest wins. WSAN, a local AM radio station that advertises on the billboard, sought to promote its switch from country and western to nostalgia music last fall by launching the giveaway contest. To qualify, listeners had only to send in 25-words-or-less statements about why they wanted to compete. To the astonishment of Program Director Gene Werley, 600,000 entries flooded the station from hardy souls hoping for a chance to win a Cozy Cottage.

MacKay and his wife Linda alone submitted 47,000 entries. A drawing was held, and the three finalists were picked. All are residents of the Allentown area: MacKay, a house parent at a home for disturbed children; Ron Kistler, 25, an unemployed baker; and Dalton Young, 23, an unemployed veteran. They settled onto the platform on Sept. 20. Sponsors gave each one a tent, radio, sleeping bag, portable toilet, telephone and an electronic game. Although they have their own heaters, under the rules they cannot have TVs, alcohol or, with occasional brief exceptions, visitors. Their families hoist up food and water in buckets attached to a rope.

Allentown's living billboard

The marathon has attracted international publicity. Locally, a bar keeps a blackboard with a running tally of odds on the probable winner. MacKay is currently ahead at 8 to 1. But his wife confesses to mixed feelings about the venture. "Sometimes I think my husband is nuts," Linda sighs. "But I am with him 100%." MacKay, who keeps busy by teaching himself to play the guitar, seems prepared for a long sojourn. "It's like putting money into a used car," he says. "I've got too much in this now to give it up."

DIPLOMACY

Beef and Bitter Lemons

To sweeten sour ties, Nakasone pays a call and Shultz girds for Asia

Preoccupied of late with the problems of Europe and the Middle East, the Reagan Administration has taken little time to ponder the state of its relationships in Asia. Now, with frictions increasing, the Administration is squarely facing its differences with the two principal powers of the East, Japan and China. Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone paid a three-day visit to Washington last week, and late this week U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz leaves on a twelve-day trip to China, Japan and South Korea. Shultz's mission: to try to overcome some of the problems caused partly by diplomatic neglect but mostly by basic differences between the national interests of the U.S. and those of the giants of the Pacific.

In the case of Japan, the problems are both economic and military. The U.S., suffering from a deep recession, particularly in industries like automobiles and steel that have been pinched by Japanese imports, wants Japan to take significant steps in opening its borders to more American-made goods. That will help reduce the U.S.'s $17.5 billion unfavorable trade balance with Japan. The Administration also wants Tokyo to raise its defense spending, which currently accounts for less than 1% of the gross national product (*vs.* 6.3% in the U.S.). In the case of China, the differences concern trade, military and geopolitical matters and, notably, a feeling by Peking that the U.S. has not fulfilled some of its earlier promises to reduce its support for the Chinese Nationalist government on Taiwan.

Prime Minister Nakasone was a particularly welcome visitor to Washington. His willingness to make the trip scarcely eight weeks after he had assumed office was interpreted as a sign that the Japanese are anxious to preserve their 30-year friendship with the U.S. Two weeks ago, in preparation for the Prime Minister's tour, his government reduced nontariff barriers on a number of relatively unimportant U.S. imports. Nakasone also moved decisively to ease tensions over defense policy. He inserted a modest increase in defense spending into his otherwise austere national budget, and he ended a 15-year ban on Japan's sharing its military technology with the U.S.

Those moves set a favorable tone for the Nakasone visit. They also helped the Administration fend off criticism of Japanese policy emanating from Congress as well as from many business and labor leaders. Even as Nakasone was speeding along Pennsylvania Avenue on his way to the White House, President Reagan was receiving a delegation of U.S. industrialists and union officials, who asked him to take a firm stand with the Japanese Prime Minister. "The mood in the U.S. is to get tough with Japan," said Robert Delano, president of the American Farm Federation, whose members are upset about the protracted, and so far unsuccessful, U.S. efforts to reach a new and more favorable agreement on the sale of beef and lemons, oranges and other citrus products to Japan. "We have a discriminatory, unfair and unequal trade relationship," said United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser. The U.S. auto industry is desperately trying to persuade Japan to renew its agreement to limit car exports to the U.S. to 1.68 million units a year. The current agreement expires in March.

The Reagan Administration was anxious to give Nakasone a chance to live up to his reputation as a personable, resolutely pro-American politician. So the strategy last week was to welcome him

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANA WALKER

The Prime Minister describing his talks with President Reagan; below, hands-on experience with Caspar Weinberger and the Secretary of State

warmly while at the same time prodding him gently for further concessions. After three hours of private meetings during a two-day period, Reagan and Nakasone emerged with somewhat similar statements. Reagan noted that Japan's restrictions on U.S. products would "continue to weigh heavily" on relations, and called on the Japanese for "tangible progress." Nakasone said that he had seen pictures of soup lines and old people sleeping in cars in the U.S., and emphasized his sympathy for the U.S.'s unemployment problem. But he asked Americans not to blame Japan for the lack of technical innovation in certain U.S. industries, and suggested that "more constructive efforts, like encouraging Japanese industries to locate in the U.S.," would be superior to imposing protectionist measures.

One development that cheered the Reagan Administration was Nakasone's readiness to strengthen Japan's defenses. In a sense, some U.S. analysts concluded, Nakasone was making a sort of trade: more on defense but less than the Reagan Administration wanted on increased access to the Japanese market. Indeed, he raised some protests among antimilitarists at home by asserting that he intended to make Japan "an unsinkable aircraft carrier" that would provide air defense against Soviet long-range Backfire bombers. He also said he would improve his country's defenses against Soviet submarines and surface ships. The Prime Minister stressed that these statements did not represent a new defense policy.

Nonetheless, the Soviet Union seized on Nakasone's comments to launch a small-scale propaganda attack of its own. Such moves by the Japanese, said the Soviet news agency TASS, would "make Japan a likely target for a retaliatory strike" and thus could lead it to "a national disaster more serious than the one that befell it 37 years ago," when U.S. planes dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

During the talks President Reagan avoided going into detail on the most contentious issues, such as U.S. beef and citrus exports and Japanese auto imports. Instead, he emphasized the political pressure he faces to gain more trade concessions from Japan. Similarly, Nakasone described the resistance he must contend with in moving faster on trade. He indicated that the negotiations over beef and citrus products would have to wait for a "cooler" period.

Nakasone's subsequent talks on Capitol Hill went better than he had expected. Legislators gave him some blunt talk about U.S.-Japanese relations, but most seemed impressed by his desire to be accommodating. As Democratic Congressman Samuel Stratton of New York put it, "We think he is trying to do more than anybody has done before."

Nakasone's sympathetic attitude will unquestionably help smooth the way for Secretary Shultz's trip to Japan. Shultz is expected to avoid getting specific on trade issues, and instead will emphasize that the U.S. realizes that any changes in Japan's import policies will take time and require difficult adjustments by Japanese society. Some U.S. officials believe that Japan's leadership is getting the message. Says one: "We think they are beginning to appreciate that what is at stake is the future of the open, free international trade system that has benefited them so much."

Shultz has an even tougher task facing him when he reaches Peking a few days later. Because of President Reagan's longstanding sympathy for Taiwan, the Chinese have never really trusted his Administration. In all likelihood Shultz will say as little as possible about Taiwan during his China visit, if only because at the moment the U.S. has nothing more to give. In the Shanghai II communiqué of last August, Peking affirmed its pursuit of the "peaceful reunification" of Taiwan with China, while the U.S. declared that it would hold its arms sales to Taiwan to existing levels and in time would reduce them. The Administration feels that this agreement should have reassured the Chinese, but the distrust lingers.

The hope in Washington is that the Chinese will be willing to concentrate on economic and cultural issues. The Chinese complain that they have received few if any of the U.S. technological benefits promised them in the late 1970s. U.S. officials disagree and argue that the transfer of technology from the U.S. to China has actually risen steadily in the past several years.

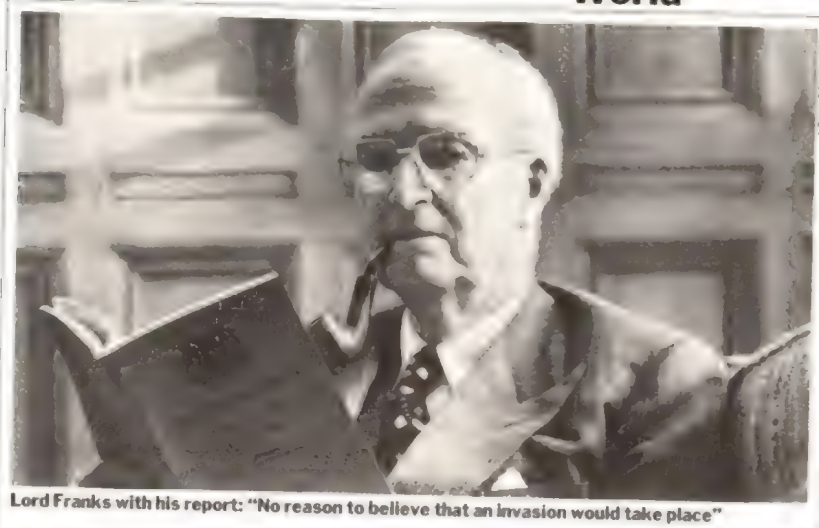
The latest flap between the two countries concerns textiles, which accounted for $800 million of China's $2 billion in exports to the U.S. last year. The Chinese were angered this month when the Reagan Administration failed to grant special concessions permitting them to sell more textiles to the U.S. The Peking government retaliated by banning the importation of U.S. cotton, soybeans and chemical fibers. The Chinese were obviously intent on making a political point, but the gesture was not as serious as it would have been if the ban had affected a big trade item like U.S. wheat, which last year accounted for $1 billion of America's $2.7 billion in exports to China.

Before he leaves Peking, Shultz hopes to gain some insight into the current state of China's relations with the Soviet Union. There have been rumors, for instance, that the two Communist superpowers have discussed a possible settlement of their four-year-old dispute over Kampuchea. The agreement reportedly would involve a withdrawal of Soviet-backed Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, presumably opening the way to an improvement of ties between China and Viet Nam. Any lessening of tension between Moscow and Peking could lead to a reduction in Peking's need for better relations with the West. But the U.S. believes that China's top boss, Deng Xiaoping, is as committed as ever to the economic development of his country. If that is true, then closer ties with the U.S. will remain in China's best interest.

Only in South Korea, the third stop on his Asian tour, is Shultz likely to find the going easy. In the past year there has been a slight improvement in the Seoul government's human rights record, as shown by its release in December of jailed Opposition Leader Kim Dae Jung. The South Koreans have already been reassured that the U.S. has no present intention of reducing its troop commitment there, a subject of controversy during the Carter Administration. In contrast with Tokyo and Peking, where ticklish work faces the Secretary of State, South Korea will be what one of his aides describes as a "classic goodwill stop." By that time, Shultz will presumably need one. —*By William E. Smith. Reported by Johanna McGeary and Edwin M. Reingold/Washington*

Chinese workers produce cashmere sweaters at factory in Inner Mongolia

A feeling that the U.S. has not kept some promises about technology and Taiwan.



Lord Franks with his report: "No reason to believe that an invasion would take place"

BRITAIN

And Now, Fortress Falklands

An official—and independent—report vindicates Thatcher

When paratroopers and Royal Marine commandos stormed ashore in the Falkland Islands last May, it was to engage in Britain's first major war since Suez. Twenty-four days later, the Argentine army surrendered. But the cost to Britain was high: 255 killed, 777 wounded and an estimated $1.4 billion worth of ships and equipment lost in combat. In addition, nagging uncertainties about the war have remained. Was it preventable? Had Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher failed to anticipate the Argentine threat? Did the Foreign Office goof? Was the Intelligence Service at fault? Those questions, and others like them, have haunted British politics since the war and could have damaged Thatcher in the general election she is expected to call this year.

Last week many of the questions and most of the doubts were removed. After six months of deliberation, a blue-ribbon British inquiry into the causes of the war specifically exonerated Thatcher and her government from any blame for failing to foresee or prevent the Argentine invasion. Stressed the six-man bipartisan panel headed by Lord Franks, 77, an Oxford academic and former British Ambassador to Washington. "Our account demonstrates conclusively that the government had no reason to believe before March 31 that an invasion of the Falkland Islands would take place at the beginning of April."

While the inquiry was debating the causes of the war, Britain's military was discussing a Ministry of Defense post-mortem of the campaign, published last month. Overall, experts concluded, the conflict vindicated arguments that Britain should retain a strike capacity in addition to its role in NATO. A public relations shambles over press censorship came in for considerable criticism, as did the Royal Navy task force's lack of a credible early-warning system against low-level air attack. "Had the Argentine air force been equipped with more up-to-date systems," noted one general, "the war would have been a much more bloody affair." On balance, however, the navy was praised for overcoming the logistical nightmares of the campaign that, most agreed, provided a unique test of modern battle equipment. Potential improvements are "being identified."

The same happy consensus does not exist on the political front. The Labor Party's left wing was quick to condemn the 106-page report, particularly in light of a recently published book, *Battle for the Falklands*, by two journalists who fault successive Cabinets, British intelligence and Thatcher. In a brief preview of this week's full debate on the report, cries of "Whitewash!" were heard when Prime Minister Thatcher read the Franks report's exculpation of her government. Said she: "We now have no option but Fortress Falklands." Former Labor Prime Minister James Callaghan charged that Thatcher had bought "a short-term military victory and a long-term political retreat and dead end." The report, he later insisted, let the Prime Minister off "too lightly."

Prime Minister Thatcher

In fact, the Franks committee avoided turning up any scapegoats. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office, which many had expected would be heavily censured, was merely chided on a couple of minor points. The diplomatic service, the committee said, had underestimated the speed with which the crisis would develop and, in early 1982, failed to pay sufficient notice to the Falklands issue, despite a clear change of mood in Buenos Aires.

The lack of heavy criticism of the Foreign Office left one mystery. If the diplomats were blameless, just why had Lord Carrington felt the need to resign as Foreign Secretary immediately after the invasion? The report revealed that he had repeatedly warned during his three-year tenure of the dangers of diplomatic stalling. He had also disagreed with Thatcher's decision to withdraw the Royal Navy's survey ship H.M.S. *Endurance* from Falklands patrol, a move that some believe convinced the Argentine junta that Britain would not resist an invasion. When the war began, Carrington chose to quit, he says, to "prevent recriminations about whether the Foreign Secretary at the helm was still to blame."

The Franks committee did not criticize Thatcher for ignoring her senior minister. Indeed, its only serious rebuke was aimed at the intelligence community, and even then Britain's Secret Intelligence Service escaped direct criticism. The panel argued that the Joint Intelligence Committee, a top-level coordinating body that analyzes information from all sources and advises the Prime Minister, had failed to carry out a full assessment of the Falklands situation in the months immediately before the invasion. It was, the report says, "too passive . . . to respond quickly and critically to a rapidly changing situation." But the panel also rejected press reports that the intelligence agencies had ignored invasion warnings from the British embassy in Buenos Aires, the CIA and the captain of H.M.S. *Endurance*. Such warnings, it noted, were never sent.

For the moment, Thatcher continues to ride the crest of her post-Falklands popularity; the latest polls show the Tories running 12½ percentage points ahead of Labor. But any new confrontation in the Falklands could upset the present mood, and last week just such a possibility was reported. Though Argentine officials denied that they were planning fresh hit-and-run attacks on the Falklands, U.S. State Department officers expressed some worry over intelligence reports of troop concentrations and exercises in southern Argentina. "They are up to something," says one U.S. intelligence official. "It may just be to keep the British on edge, to make them spend a lot of money on defense. But if you are British, you have to assume they'll try something." Which may explain Thatcher's commitment to Fortress Falklands. —*By Jay D. Palmer. Reported by Bonnie Angelo/London*

Bullet-riddled car at the scene of police ambush: Who is it, Susie? Who have we shot?

Don't Shoot!?

A furor over firearms

The suspect, David Martin, 35, was an escaped prisoner charged with the attempted murder of a police officer and described as armed and dangerous. Thus police moved in forcefully when they thought they spotted Martin in London's Kensington district, sitting in an automobile with a former girlfriend, a model named Sue Stephens. Members of the pursuit force, who, unlike most British policemen, were armed with Smith & Wesson .38 handguns, riddled the car with 14 bullets. A badly wounded man slumped out of the car, and Stephens allegedly shouted, "You've made a terrible mistake!" after which a voice asked, "Who is it, Susie? Who have we shot?" As it turned out, the victim was not Martin, but another friend of Stephens', a television film editor named Stephen Waldorf. Calling the incident "a tragic case of mistaken identity," Scotland Yard suspended three detectives involved and launched an investigation.

Passenger Stephens

The incident raised a storm of controversy in the British press and sent shock waves through Parliament. In the House of Commons, Home Secretary William Whitelaw called the shooting "a most serious, grave and disturbing incident." "I can guarantee," Whitelaw promised, "that there will be no cover-up, no whitewash, under any circumstances." Said an editorial in the *Financial Times:* "The event provokes the fear that Britain has taken an unwelcome step toward the gun-toting law-and-order methods which are associated with steadily worsening violent crime in many American cities."

While Britain's violent crime is low by U.S. standards and most police officers remain traditionally unarmed, the number of incidents involving firearms has risen substantially over the past twelve years. Scotland Yard began issuing firearms on a regular basis to officers concerned with terrorism or other particularly dangerous cases in 1972; since 1980 their guns have been drawn approximately 300 times, with 52 shots fired in twelve incidents. Meanwhile, the number of firearms issued to police officers each year has grown to more than 6,000, a sevenfold increase over the past ten years. Guidelines governing police firearms stipulate that they are to be used only as "a means of defense."

Last week two of the detectives suspended in the Martin incident were formally charged, one for attempted murder, the other for attempting to wound. After a brief appearance in court, they were released on bail until another hearing scheduled for March 17. Waldorf, meanwhile, was out of danger and listed in fair condition. Whatever the outcome of the case, it has clearly raised doubts among the British public about whether an armed police force would actually serve better to protect the people. Said the *Sunday Times:* "The traditional image of the unarmed British bobby may never recover."

■ ■ ■

Michael Fagan, an unemployed laborer, sparked a national furor 6½ months ago when he wandered into Queen Elizabeth II's Buckingham Palace bedroom for an early-morning chat. After several court appearances, he was sent to a maximum-security hospital for psychiatric treatment. Fagan was freed last week by a mental health review tribunal on the grounds that he no longer posed a danger to others. Many Britons thought otherwise. Conservative Member of Parliament Sheila Faith had one word for the decision: "incomprehensible." ■

SOVIET UNION

Cracking Down

Andropov vs. *free thought*

At the conclusion of Soviet Historian Roy Medvedev's monumental 1971 study of the Stalin era, *Let History Judge*, the author sounded a warning note: "Not everything connected with Stalinism is behind us, by no means everything. The process of purifying the Communist movement, of washing out all the layers of Stalinist filth, is not yet finished." Those words rang true last week when the Soviet Union's top law enforcement agency warned Medvedev to "cease hostile activities" or face criminal charges.

The move against Medvedev added weight to evidence that Party Leader Yuri Andropov has stepped up the campaign against independent thought that he had begun as head of the KGB. Said Medvedev, who had predicted as early as 1978 that Andropov would succeed Leonid Brezhnev as party leader: "People have been asking me about the new Andropov government, and I've been saying that it's going to be strict on the one hand and appear to be intellectual on the other. However, we've seen plenty of examples of its being strict and so far little intellect."

Medvedev, 57, was summoned to the office of the Soviet Prosecutor General in Moscow and accused of producing "mockingly hostile scribblings that have slandered the Soviet Union," referring to Medvedev's 19 books that have been published only abroad. Deputy Prosecutor Oleg Soroka told Medvedev, "Either you stop writing such books and articles, or we will put you in jail." The nonconformist Marxist historian, who cannot properly be called a dissident, pointed out that he had been writing for two decades with no interference from the authorities. Replied Soroka: "The fact that we have not called you in for 20 years is a reflection of our great patience. But that patience is coming to an end. It may run out in 1983."

Medvedev

Medvedev then refused to sign a copy of the official warning. Instead, he gave the prosecutor a statement saying that "any honorable historian" must continue writing whether his work is pleasing to those in power or not. "I am scarcely troubled by the prosecutor's and the KGB's opinion of my work. Any honest and independent historian should be concerned with only one thing: the search for truth." Medvedev later said that he would not go into voluntary exile. "I have absolutely no desire to leave

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Kings: 16 mg "tar," 1.0 mg nicotine—100's: 16 mg "tar," 1.1 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Dec.'81

Country.
Marlboro
Marlboro
100's

the Soviet Union, and no one is pressuring me into doing so."

Medvedev described the threat against him as part of a widespread crackdown. To the friends and foreign correspondents who flocked to his home after he returned from the prosecutor's office, the historian described police sweeps that are going on throughout the Moscow area and elsewhere in the country under Andropov's new Minister of Internal Affairs, Vitali Fedorchuk, who became notorious for brutal methods when he was KGB chief in the Ukraine. "You can't imagine the scale of these sweeps at stores, restaurants, movie houses and even the public baths," said Medvedev. The purpose of the raids is to root out individuals who do not possess residence permits to live in the capital and other major cities or who have taken time off from their jobs. Medvedev described one operation at the *Univermag* supermarket near his home. Two busloads of uniformed police swept down upon the shoppers and demanded to examine the internal passports every Soviet citizen must carry. Those whose papers were not in order, or who looked as if they should be at work, were herded into the buses and driven to the local police station. "These are actions that have no legal justification," Medvedev pointed out. "The police have a right to check a person's documents, but only if they suspect he or she has committed a crime."

In line with Andropov's determination to impose better labor discipline, the daily *Sovietskaya Rossiya* announced a new drive to round up alcoholics, tramps, drug addicts and other "social parasites" for treatment in special camps, to be followed by "corrective labor." The newspaper *Trud* (Labor) said that industrial managers would be held responsible for reporting alcoholics to the authorities.

In particular jeopardy were members of the small but active unofficial peace organization that sprang up last June under the name Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. Its members have been harassed by the KGB for spontaneously forming a pacifist group outside the ranks of the official Soviet Peace Committee. Then, late last year, TASS launched a strong anti-Semitic attack on the pacifists, several of whom are Jewish. Though there is no evidence that the peace group members have a pro-Israeli bias, TASS made the claim that "while supposedly fighting for peace, they openly regret that they did not have an opportunity to take part in the bloody slaughter organized by the Zionists in occupied Lebanon." There is a fear that the current campaign characterizing the peace group as an anti-Soviet "Trojan horse" is intended to prepare public opinion for a trial of its members. ■

NAMIBIA

Unhappy Holiday

South Africa takes over again

"Degrading." A "futile exercise." With those brusque dismissals, Dirk Mudge, 55, a blunt-spoken rancher and politician, rang down the curtain last week on the latest act in southern Africa's longest-running shadow play: progress, or more accurately the lack of it, toward independent self-government for the vast and arid territory of Namibia. For more than three decades, South Africa has ruled Namibia in defiance of world opinion and United Nations resolutions. For the past four years Mudge and fellow members of his multiracial Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (D.T.A.) exercised

Democratic Turnhalle Alliance's Dirk Mudge

A battle over the Day of the Vow.

nominal authority over local affairs in the territory. Now all 41 D.T.A. members were resigning from Namibia's 50-seat National Assembly, leaving control in the hands of a South African administrator-general. The reason offered for the D.T.A. defection was, as critics of South Africa have maintained all along, that the local government was no more than a façade for decisions actually taken in Pretoria, South Africa's capital.

The immediate cause of Mudge's pullout was a dispute over national holidays. Four of ten red-letter days on the current Namibian calendar are of South African origin, and Mudge had proposed keeping only dates of purely local significance. Among the holidays to be dropped was the Dec. 16 Day of the Vow, a commemoration of an 1838 victory by white Afrikaners over the Zulu nation in the Battle of Blood River. Members of Namibia's white minority (75,600 out of a total population of more than 1 million) complained, and South Africa vetoed the legislation. As Mudge retold it, that was only the latest in a long series of occasions on which South Africa had ignored, modified or nullified the actions of the assembly's executive organ, the Ministers' Council. Said he: "We will never again take part in any form of government in the territory that is being controlled by Pretoria. What we now want is a meaningful government, not one which has been patched together [by South Africa]. Our priority is elections that will get us international recognition."

South Africa's response to Mudge's departure was a bland assurance that direct rule from Pretoria would be imposed only temporarily. But no mention was made of new elections to fill the vacant seats in the assembly at Windhoek, Namibia's capital. That omission was greeted cynically by Western diplomats. Said a European representative at the U.N.: "The game Pretoria is playing is obvious. It wants to procrastinate as much as possible."

Many foreign governments pin blame for South Africa's recalcitrance on the Reagan Administration. Last year the U.S. began insisting that Namibia's independence be linked to the withdrawal of an estimated 30,000 Cuban troops from neighboring Marxist-led Angola. Only a year ago, many diplomats were optimistic that South Africa would succumb to pressure from the U.S., France, Britain, West Germany and Canada to allow U.N.-supervised elections that would lead to independence. Since then, South Africa has embraced linkage as an excuse to defer free elections. Little wonder: such a vote would probably be won by the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the Marxist-dominated guerrilla movement that is leading an armed independence struggle in the territory. At a stormy meeting two weeks ago in the capital of another black neighbor, Zimbabwe, Chester Crocker, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, was berated by Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe, who called the linkage idea "blackmail." Said Mugabe: "The U.S.'s insistence on this linkage has given solace to the South African regime." The Zimbabwean leader declared that the U.S. position had "introduced a stumbling block that may well impede the decolonization process, albeit temporarily."

Despite such bitter criticism, there is at least one faint sign that the U.S. approach might succeed. South African and Angolan representatives are expected to meet soon in the Cape Verde Islands to discuss not only the Cuban troop withdrawal, but South Africa's frequent raids into Angolan territory in search of SWAPO rebels. Whether the talks will contribute to a settlement is another matter. The bleak assessment from General Constand Viljoen, commander of the 20,000 South African troops fighting against SWAPO in Namibia, is that his occupying forces will not be withdrawn from the territory this year. ■

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Take this compatibility quiz to see whether you'll find Psychology Today a boon or a bore.

	Yes	No
1. When stopping to talk to someone on the street, do you remove your sunglasses?	☐	☐
2. Do you prefer to do your own gift-wrapping instead of using the store's?	☐	☐
3. Do you think nothing of throwing out wilted flowers, but hesitate to discard a plant past its prime?	☐	☐
4. After giving a party, do you mentally keep track of who phones to thank you and who doesn't?	☐	☐
5. Do you often have a desire to be alone, to pursue your own interests?	☐	☐
6. Are you careful to glue stamps on envelopes right side up?	☐	☐
7. Have you changed your affiliation from the religion of your childhood?	☐	☐
8. Do you ask other people's children to call you by your first name?	☐	☐
9. Male or female—have you ever changed your hair color?	☐	☐
10. Do you ever go to the movies alone?	☐	☐
11. After you've finished reading the paper, do you put it back together again?	☐	☐
12. Do you, when instructed, write your account number on your check when paying bills?	☐	☐
13. Do you turn your dinner plate so the meat faces you?	☐	☐
14. Do you often tell jokes at parties?	☐	☐
15. Do you give your teeth a good scrubbing before you go to the dentist?	☐	☐
16. When the teller has already counted your money twice, do you forego counting it a third time yourself?	☐	☐
17. Do you habitually tip bartenders?	☐	☐
18. Do you feel awkward talking on the telephone when you're naked?	☐	☐
19. When parking parallel, do you back in whenever possible?	☐	☐
20. When giving a party, do you have a drink before the guests arrive?	☐	☐
21. When using book matches, do you tear out each match in order?	☐	☐
22. When lunching or dining by yourself at home, do you bother to set a place?	☐	☐
23. Do you feel guilt when you go to the movies in the daytime?	☐	☐
24. Can you remember what you were wearing the day before last?	☐	☐
25. Do you usually try to arrive at appointments ahead of time?	☐	☐
26. If it's the last one on the plate, do you hesitate to take it?	☐	☐
27. When leaving a theater, do you fold up your seat?	☐	☐
28. Is the fruit you take the one that's just about to go bad?	☐	☐
29. Do you close the bathroom door, even when you're the only one home?	☐	☐

INTERPRETATION: Generally, the more "yesses," the more you'll like *Psychology Today*. What we've learned is that you are somewhat adventuresome (changing hair color, religious affiliation). You're concerned about what others think (doing your own gift-wrap, tipping bartenders).

You're considerate of others (writing in your account number, folding up your theater seat, arriving ahead of time, putting the paper back together). You're practical (backing in, eating the one that's about to go bad).

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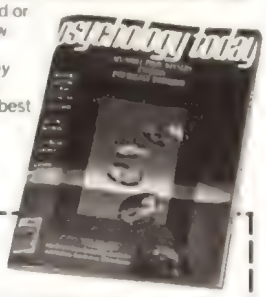

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An Interview with Mubarak

"The Arabs must move faster. To be slow now is dangerous"

Since he became President of Egypt 15 months ago, following the assassination of Anwar Sadat by Muslim extremists, Hosni Mubarak, 54, has tried to re-establish his country's position of leadership in the Arab world. Though he has had his differences with Israel, particularly since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last summer, he remains committed to the Camp David peace treaty with Israel and the U.S. Before leaving for the U.S. for discussions with President Reagan this week, a clearly worried Mubarak talked for 80 minutes with TIME *Cairo Bureau Chief Robert C. Wurmstedt about the problems of Egypt and the Middle East. Mubarak expressed confidence that life would gradually improve for his country's 45 million people, but, he added with a sigh, "my job is hard." Excerpts from the interview:*

Q. What will you tell President Reagan about the prospects for a peace settlement in the Middle East?

A. We support the Reagan initiative. It is the only thing we can use to push the peace process forward, because nearly all the strings are in the hands of the U.S. Only the U.S. has the power, the influence, the authority to put a peace initiative into action, especially with its close relationship with Israel. The U.S. must help stop these new Israeli settlements in the West Bank. If these settlements continue, what will be left to negotiate in a year's time? How then will we solve the Palestinian problem?

Q. What advice have you given to King Hussein of Jordan and Palestine Liberation Organization Leader Yasser Arafat?

A. King Hussein should sit down with the Arab leaders and find a way to allow the Palestinians to join the negotiations. He should get the approval of the Arabs and go ahead. I advised Arafat to recognize Israel unilaterally. The Arabs must move faster so that we can benefit from the Reagan initiative. To be slow now is dangerous. The Israelis will not stop building these settlements in the West Bank. Also, the U.S. presidential elections are coming, and then all decisions in the U.S. will be paralyzed. If we wait until the elections are over, I'm afraid everything will be liquidated.

Q. What role do you see for President Hafez Assad of Syria?

A. The Syrians don't want to reach any conclusions. They don't want the Reagan initiative implemented. They don't want any solution to the Palestinian problem because they are benefiting in many ways from the state of no war and no peace.

Q. What, in your view, is Israel's strategy in Lebanon?

A. Israel's strategy may be to delay implementation of the Reagan initiative until a year passes, and then it would be very difficult to implement it. But I have heard from the Israelis several times that they are going to withdraw from Lebanon and that they have no interest in staying there.

Q. What is the current state of relations between Egypt and Israel?

A. Recalling our ambassador in Israel after the Beirut massacre was the least we could do in such a situation. We will deal with Israel as with any other country.

Q. What is the chance of good relations between Israel and the Arab states?

A. If the Israelis think deeply and wisely, they could live in peace with other Arab countries. If they are practical, they will find a way to solve the Palestinian problem. If the Palestinians are given their rights and Israel stops being obstinate, the Israeli people will have much to gain.

Q. President Sadat expelled the Soviet ambassador in 1981. What is the future of Egyptian relations with the Soviet Union?

A. We have no interest in neglecting the Soviet Union. The time will come, maybe in a year or less, when we will exchange ambassadors. But this will not affect our special relations with the U.S. Take India, for example. India has special relations with the Soviets, yet it also has normal relations with the U.S.

Q. What kind of additional aid do you want from the U.S.?

A. The U.S. is doing the maximum in the area of military aid now. But we must strengthen our armed forces, especially our air defenses, with missile systems and fighter planes. We don't know what is going to happen on our western border [with Libya], and the Iran-Iraq war is a problem for the whole area. On economic aid, we would like as much flexibility [as the Israelis have with U.S. aid] in how we use it.

Q. How do you account for the growth of Muslim fundamentalism in Egypt?

A. Economic problems may be part of the reason for it here, but it is a trend all over the Muslim world. In Egypt we know exactly how to tackle this problem. We are explaining to all the people what Islam is and the difference between the extremists' view and the real Islam. Islam is something good.

Q. How can you reduce subsidies of food and fuel prices, which consume so much of the government budget?

A. The subsidies program is a sensitive issue because it touches the standard of living of the people. We are going to find a way, perhaps by next year, but we have to be very careful.

Q. How would you describe your essential style of leadership?

A. In Egypt the people have been used to electric shocks, but that time has passed. I could give the people very good speeches, but I am not that type of man. I like to work quietly. The people want to eat, they want housing and water. I could easily provide some kind of anesthesia for the people, but I'm a man for long-term policies, not for electric shocks. ■

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FORD

MERCURY LINCOLN

The Year of the Mouse

Apple's long-awaited Lisa ushers in a new era of easy computing

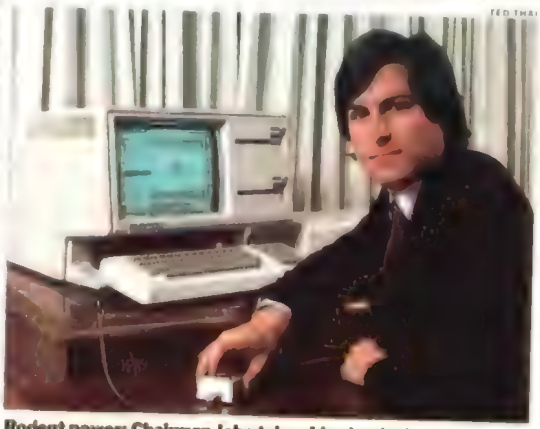
It actually *looks* a bit like a mouse, with its rounded corners, off-white color and thin wire tail. The size of a pack of cigarettes, it fits snugly into the palm of the hand. Slide it across a table and electric signals go down its 2-ft. tail. Plug that tail into a computer, and the mouse directs the movement of a pointer on a video screen. The result: a device that can bypass the thicket of codes, commands and complicated keyboards that have plagued users since the computer era began.

Last week Apple Computer Inc., the company that made itself a household word by making computing power affordable to individuals, unveiled a mouse-controlled computer named Lisa that may change forever the way people communicate with their machines. Says Wall Street Analyst Ulric Weil, author of *Information Systems in the Eighties:* "Simply put, Lisa ushers in the second generation of personal computers."

Priced at $9,995, the machine packs into a boxy, 50-lb. package most of the hardware advances of the past five years: a system that will store nearly 7 million words; a sophisticated "32-bit" microprocessor that is far more powerful than the eight-bit chip in its predecessor, the Apple II; and an ultrasharp video display that can show twice as much detail as a standard computer screen. But the key breakthrough is embodied in Lisa's software, the computer codes that make the machine much easier to operate than any other desktop computer. The operator simply takes the mouse in hand, and a little black arrow springs to life on the screen. That arrow can then be directed toward the postage stamp–size pictures lining the bottom of the screen. These are Lisa's "icons," graphic symbols representing such everyday objects as a trash can, a clipboard, file folders, a calculator, a battery-operated clock. By pointing the arrow at an icon and pressing the button on the mouse, the user triggers an action. He might use the trash can to discard the first draft of a memo. The clipboard is used as temporary storage when moving information from one place to another. File folders are for long-term storage.

The mouse can also conjure up any of six business programs that come packaged with the computer: word processing, economic modeling, graphing, list management, project scheduling and free-form drawing. The user can run several programs at once, just as an office worker can spread several jobs across a single desktop. Creating and editing files, running printers and other peripheral devices, and juggling long lists of numbers can all be done without consulting a manual or remembering a single computer command. Explains John Couch, Apple's vice president in charge of the Lisa project: "What we wanted to do was to emulate the way an individual works in an office."

Apple is aiming Lisa at the nation's 30 million professionals, managers and administrative executives. Much is riding on the success of the machine, both for Apple, which invested $50 million and three years in the project, and for its hard-driving, high-strung chairman, Steven Jobs. At the official unveiling of the new computer last week, Jobs was able to announce to his stockholders a 73% increase in quarterly profits on sales of $214 million. That increase was due almost entirely to the continued high sales of the durable Apple II (750,000 sold since its introduction six years ago; 45,000 in the month of December at its alltime-low list price of $1,330), a machine that is showing its age. The company discontinued manufacture of the Apple II last week and introduced an enhanced version called the Apple IIe, priced at $1,395, which its assembly plant in Carrollton, Texas, is turning out at the rate of one every 30 seconds. (The original Apple was a short-lived machine aimed at hobbyists, and only 600 were built.) The firm's other computer, the Apple III, never quite caught on. It suffered a disastrous launching (the first 14,000 had to be recalled for retooling) and then was outsold by International Business Machines' belated entry into the desktop market, the IBM Personal Computer.



Rodent power: Chairman Jobs takes Lisa by the hand

In Texas, the Apple IIe rolls off the line

Turning one out every 30 seconds.

Apple, setting out to prove that it could build a better personal computer than IBM or anyone else, seems to have made its point with Lisa. The new machine has some flaws: no color, a balky printer, a sluggish word processor, a few tricky hurdles in a new planning and scheduling program. But nothing on the market, including the IBM PC, compares with the new machine. Lisa pays imaginative court to details: when a knotty task is in progress, the machine signals that the ensuing work will take some time by displaying a little hourglass. When the "off" button is pushed before work on the screen has been properly stored, the machine automatically files loose documents and stows away relevant data before shutting itself off. Headlines and labels can be set in any of a dozen typefaces, then enlarged or shrunk with a flick of the mouse. Moreover, nearly all the built-in software is "integrated," that is, numbers, words and pictures can be easily transferred among the charts, graphs, memos and computations on the screen. Several companies offer software that is more or less integrated, but none matches the ease of use of Lisa and its mouse.

Lisa, of course, did not spring full blown from the mind of Jobs. Primitive hand controllers have been used with computers for nearly two decades, ever since Stanford Research Institute Scientist Douglas Engelbart built a scurrying tabletop gadget in the mid-'60s nicknamed "the mouse." In the early 1970s, researchers at Xerox began improving on Engelbart's design, and soon after, computer experts at the company's Palo Alto research center began using a mouse in a computer language they called Smalltalk. By pointing and pressing buttons, they could send messages to and from objects

on a screen without using a keyboard. In December 1979, Jobs and a group of Apple engineers visited Palo Alto for a demonstration of the Smalltalk system. They watched the electric rodent point at commands while a Xerox researcher, Larry Tesler, made the case for the hand-held device. Recalls Bruce Daniels, a Lisa designer who saw the presentation: "We loved it, what they were trying to put across in terms of ease of use. We all said, 'That's it. That's what we want to build.'" Six months later, Tesler joined Apple and the Lisa team.

At Apple, the Lisa project began to build. First there were rambling late-night rap sessions between Jobs and Couch, then the installation of a 40-man team in quarters behind the Good Earth health-food restaurant in Cupertino, Calif., and finally, in 1982, the establishment of a 400-man force in three one-story beige and red-tile buildings near Apple's antiseptic headquarters in Cupertino. Couch fired up the workers with what he calls the "Outward Bound school of business," stressing the virtues of originality and sweat. New workers were employed as pristine users, and psychologists tested new features for what the industry calls "user friendliness." The results now appear to be very friendly. Apple says its studies show that a novice can learn to operate Lisa in 20 to 40 min., as opposed to the 20 to 40 hrs. of instruction usually needed to master a first-generation computer.

Kildall at a Lisa writing next year's software

Paying imaginative court to details.

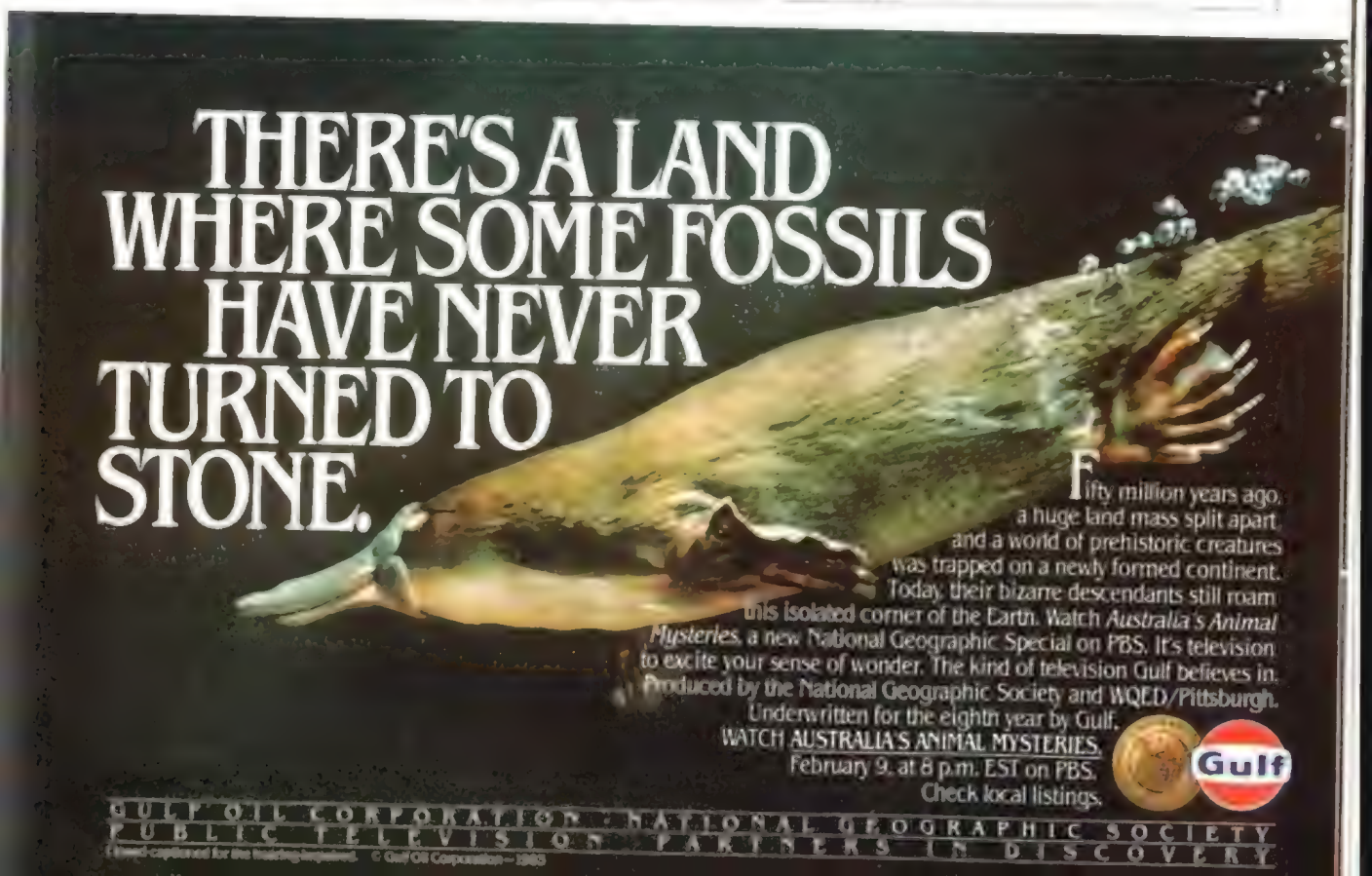
Apple hopes that Lisa will go a long way toward opening up the computer market to a new group of consumers. "It's definitely the way things are moving," says Gary Kildall, the inventor of the popular CP/M operating system that runs many small computers and one of more than 28 independent programmers who are writing additional software for the Lisa. Paul Freiberger, a senior editor of the trade weekly *InfoWorld*, agrees. "I was blown away," he says. "They are a year ahead of everybody."

Innovation, however, is not always a key to success in the marketplace, especially the mart for a $10,000 machine. "There's a lot more to selling equipment to major corporations than knocking on the door and taking orders," says Charles Hoerner of Foremost McKesson, who is shopping for a computer system for the San Francisco–based conglomerate. "There are lots of organizations that have an IBM bias. They are not particularly open minded." Says Barry Smith, Lisa's marketing manager: "Corporate life does not reward risk takers, and there's the old adage that you never lose your job by buying an IBM."

Although IBM does not offer a machine that compares with Lisa, that gap could be filled at any time. "I'd expect direct competition to Lisa before the end of the year," says Clive Smith of the Yankee group, a Boston-based consulting firm. Already one company, VisiCorp, has announced that it is developing a mouse system that will plug into an IBM PC and give it some of Lisa's capabilities at a lower price. Apple itself is working on a scaled-down version of Lisa called Macintosh (a misspelling of the McIntosh apple). Priced at about $2,000, it is expected to make its debut this summer. Other mouse-driven machines are sure to follow, but Jobs shrugs them off. "We want to drive this industry," he says. "We could have introduced Lisa a year ago, but we wanted to make it perfect. We're prepared to live with Lisa for the next ten years."

—*By Philip Faflick.*

Reported by Dick Thompson/San Francisco and Bruce van Voorst/New York



Shoppers at an American Bell PhoneCenter in Manhattan: 80 million potential customers and $600 million in estimated 1983 sales

Economy & Business

Dial "M" for Money

Telephone makers plug into profits with an array of new products

Like the bathtub, a telephone can be found in nearly every American home, and, until now, it has been equally taken for granted. Yet, all of a sudden, consumers are being urged to jettison their old view of the phone as a utilitarian item and look at it as a fancy new entry on a shopping list. Local Bell System companies, as well as A T & T's brand-new baby, American Bell Inc., are beseeching customers to buy telephones instead of leasing them, and even to plug more of them into their homes. Department, specialty and discount stores are getting into the act too, stacking shiny new phones next to the portable TVs and toaster ovens.

For many people, used to buying a hair dryer but paying a monthly charge for their phone, the changeover is bewildering. Says Michael J. Friduss, an Illinois Bell executive: "We had a tremendous rush of people thinking that this was their last chance to get a new phone. Some customers thought we were going out of business, or that we were not going to repair their phones any more." That is not true—phone customers can in fact keep leasing their phones and getting repair service from their local Bell office—but the confusion is understandable. Although owning a phone has been possible since 1968, when the Federal Communications Commission started to unravel A T & T's monopoly on telephone service, many people still believed it was illegal.

Last year, while 25 million people acquired leased phones, only 5 million purchased them. Now the confluence of Government-ordered deregulation and the breakup of A T & T is changing all that. This year the number of Americans buying phones is expected to double, to 10 million. With 80 million households now potential customers, more than 100 manufacturers of telephone sets, including such giants as International Telephone & Telegraph and General Telephone & Electronics, are fighting for a share of a new market that is expected to reach $600 million this year and many times more than that by 1986. Says Harold Miller, ITT vice president for telecommunications: "Within the next three years, whether you like the idea now or not, you are going to own your own phone."

Fortunately, this free-market competition is paying big dividends for consumers. In shopping for new phones, buyers can indulge their tastes for the fashionable or merely eccentric and choose from a variety of helpful features, like automatic dialing for frequently used numbers and speaker phones. There are phones that carry the imprimatur of high-fashion designers, hide in leather boxes or chime instead of ring. Prices range from $15 for a non-Bell version of the standard rotary dial phone in basic black to the "Elephone," a unit encased in a silver-plated elephant's head that costs $2,150.

Customers who do nothing more than buy a phone like the one that is installed in their home can unquestionably save money. A standard dial phone, which is leased for 91¢ a month in Michigan, $1.50 in Oregon and $3.03 in New York, can be bought at American Bell stores for $35. While it would take a Michigan resident about three years to pay for the purchase, a New Yorker would save the price in lease fees in only twelve months. According to a New York City department of consumer affairs study, if all New Yorkers decided to buy their phones rather than lease, they would save $600 million over the six-year life of the phones.

Many customers are in fact taking an economical approach. According to Phone City, the largest non-Bell retail outlet in Manhattan, the bestselling phone is a $32.95 replica by ITT of the standard Bell rotary unit. But the temptation is to upgrade. The next most popular phone is Bell's Trimline ($72), the familiar model with pushbuttons in the handle, and similar versions by other manufacturers. At some American Bell stores, buyers are picking up phones with flair, like the suave, curved Genie ($99) and the French-inspired Celebrity ($159). The fastest-growing sales are being run up by the cordless phone ($130 to $299), which can be carried around the house or outdoors and has a range of up to 700 feet. The portability of the cordless phone occasionally causes problems. "I love the convenience," says Beth Jackson of Charlotte, N.C., "but next time I'm getting a different color. Mine is beige, and I've lost it under the leaves several times."

In this brave new world of telephone ownership there are a few pitfalls. Owners who are replacing their A T & T phones must return them to a local telephone service center to avoid paying leasing charges. Installing a phone that has been bought is easy, provided that the residence has previously been wired. New phones have simple clip plugs that can be adapted to older existing outlets with an easy-to-use converter. Buyers

For flash: cases of lacquer and crystal, and a pearlescent shell (up to $700)

For fun: Snoopy, Ronald McDonald, whistling football (to $249)

Three of American Bell Inc.'s bestsellers

Computerized marvels do everything but talk

who ask Ma Bell to make the hookup, however, can be charged up to $40 an hour. Some phones now being offered for sale are cheaply assembled and may last only about two years, compared with the old A T & T phones that were designed to dial and ring for 15 to 20 years. Although the Bell System still makes free repairs on the phones that it leases, it charges about $30 for a service call on a customer-owned phone. With the cost of phones declining, ITT's Miller predicts that buyers will some day opt for cheap throwaways that can be tossed in the garbage instead of being fixed.

Since the average American home already has 1.6 phones, manufacturers are selling more than simple communication. Says Randall Tobias, president of American Bell Consumer Products: "We expect there will be telephones in rooms where their principal function is decorative." Some phones are designed as *objets d'art:* a porcelain unit with a hand-knotted silk cord ($495); the shimmering Shellamar Abalone, with its own pearlescent finish ($250) by TeleConcept Inc. of Hartford, Conn. Others are *objets de* nostalgia: the 1930s-vintage Candlestick ($139) with its separate mouthpiece and earpiece; the Country Junction ($265), which has an oak case and two brass bells.

The notion of phones as fashion has not escaped well-known clothing designers. A line bearing the signature of Pierre Cardin has already appeared, and Geoffrey Beene is also at work on telephonic conceptions. So far, the reception has not been entirely enthusiastic. Says Edward Alter, co-owner of Phone City: "Cardin should go back to making clothes."

American Bell is pushing the idea of phones in the bathroom. In its promotional material, the company observes, "Anybody who has dashed fresh from the shower to answer a ringing telephone can understand the value of a bathroom telephone." But it also notes that since phones use electricity, they should not be used when the caller is wet.

A yellow Pac-Man phone ($69.95) has proved popular with children, as have giant phones modeled after Mickey Mouse, Snoopy and Winnie-the-Pooh that sell for $149 to $189. Additional novelty phones include one that looks like a duck and quacks like a duck when it rings; another, shaped like a football, gives off a referee's whistle.

For people who still prefer function over form, American Bell earlier this month introduced a pair of new phones utilizing microprocessor technology that offers features of genuine value. The Touch-a-matic 1600 ($150), available in some stores in March, has flat key pads that are touched rather than pushed, a calculator-like display that shows the number being called, and a twelve-number memory that allows frequently called numbers to be rung with the press of a single digit. The Genesis ($350; available in May) comes with optional cartridges that can turn it into a small computer. One cartridge permits the automatic redialing of busy numbers, another serves as an electronic padlock to prevent the unauthorized placing of long-distance calls, and a third will store appointments, important dates or anything else.

Dazzling? Certainly. Expensive? That too. Bewildering? Probably. The frenetic activity in the telephone industry may make some yearn for simpler days when phones had cranks and switching was handled by a woman you could talk to. ***—By Alexander L. Taylor III. Reported by Frederick Ungeheuer/New York and Don Winbush/Chicago***

Pierre Cardin's designs: a clock-radio model ($195) and a one-piece unit with rotary dial ($49)

Seattle Rescue

Seafirst's $1.5 billion backstop

Richard Cooley was 59 and had been chairman of San Francisco's Wells Fargo & Co. for 16 years when he abruptly quit his job last December. A day later it turned out he was to become chief executive of another bank-holding company, Seafirst Corp. in Seattle. With $10 billion in assets, Seafirst is less than half the size of Wells Fargo, but Cooley's new job is turning out to be double the challenge of his old one. Last week Seafirst, which owns the Seattle-First National Bank, reported a surprisingly large operating loss of $61.4 million for the fourth quarter, bringing its 1982 deficit to $90.2 million. Just before the stunning announcement, a dozen of the largest U.S. banks, including Wells Fargo, had agreed to make available $1.5 billion in standby credits lest some of Seafirst's large depositors lose confidence and withdraw their money, precipitating a run on the bank.

The hastily arranged bailout plan revealed the bankers' concern for the health of the U.S. financial system, which is straining under a troubling load of bad foreign and domestic loans. Said one participating lender: "We were motivated to do something out of self-interest. The more smoothly this thing is handled, the better."

The problems at Seafirst apparently run deeper than Cooley realized when he became chairman on Jan. 3. On Sept. 30 the bank had $134 million in loan-loss reserves, mostly to cover losses on energy loans acquired from Penn Square Bank, the notorious Oklahoma City institution that failed last July. But last week Seafirst announced that it had added $125 million to the reserve in the fourth quarter alone. Notes a Seattle banker: "Their problems go far beyond Penn Square."

Seafirst revealed that its portfolio contains $800 million in problem, or nonperforming, loans that have not been written off, a figure that is some $200 million more than analysts had thought. The trouble spots include a $40 million credit to Mexico's bankrupt Grupo Industrial Alfa, the largest private firm in Latin America. The so-called nonperforming loans amount to nearly 8% of Seafirst's $10 billion in total assets; the banking industry average is about 3%. What is more, the loans exceed by 7% the sum of the bank's shareholders' equity and loss reserves, which can be thought of as its cushion against disaster.

Seafirst began seeking a bailout about two weeks ago. Cooley first called Alfred Brittain III, chairman of Bankers Trust in New York and a longtime friend, to ask him to put together a two-year loan with other lenders. That effort fell through, but telephone lines were soon buzzing between banks over a different arrangement. The terms will allow Seafirst to draw on the $1.5 billion for 24-hr. loans if it loses other sources of funding and needs money. The participating banks include BankAmerica, Citibank, Chase Manhattan and Continental Illinois.

The San Francisco Federal Reserve Bank apparently helped stiffen the resolve of the lenders, many of whom have substantial loan problems of their own. Moreover, the New York Federal Reserve branch telephoned banks in its region that were considering joining the lending syndicate to tell them that their participation would be welcomed.

The rescue mission was clearly a relief for Cooley, who had been forced to slash the quarterly dividend by two-thirds, to 12¢. All these revelations, and the high-noon scrambling by bankers, left Wall Street remarkably unruffled. On Friday, the day after Cooley disclosed just how bad things were, the bank's stock dropped just 1⅛ points, and closed at 14⅝. ■

Headquarters of a troubled banking company; inset, Chairman Richard Cooley

A bailout plan that revealed the depth of concern for the health of the U.S. financial system.

Poor Image

Selling jobs at Kodak

For generations, jobs at photo giant Eastman Kodak Co. have been treasured for their good pay and security by residents of the Rochester area. This is especially true now when times are tough. There were signs last week, though, that some Kodak jobs were prized to a fault. The Federal Bureau of Investigation confirmed that it was looking into the possibility that Kodak insiders with the power to hire had sold jobs. Reported going rates: $500 to $1,000 apiece.

Kodak says that it called in the FBI six months ago when it learned of the scam, but word of the investigation broke only last week in the Rochester *Democrat & Chronicle*. According to one report, an angry former employee complained to his friends that he had been fired from his job at Kodak's apparatus division less than a month after he had paid $1,000 to get the position.

Kodak Spokesman Timothy Elliott said the matter was of "serious concern" to the company. He insisted that Kodak would hire from its pool of 100,000 job applicants on merit alone. If there are arrests, they would come under the Hobbs Act, which prohibits extortion in any business engaged in interstate commerce. Maximum penalty: $10,000 in fines and security of another sort—20 years in jail. ■

Fiat Finito

Leaving the U.S. market

Regardless of undercoating or other protective measures taken by their owners, some Fiat cars rusted rapidly on U.S. roads in the 1970s. That problem and others led wags to proclaim Fiat an acronym for Fix It Again Tony. Partly as a result, sales dropped from a high of 100,511 cars in 1975 to last year's 14,113. Last week Fiat announced that it was pulling out of the American market.

Fiat had only two models in the U.S. anyway, the X1/9 and the flashy Spider 2000, assembled by Coachmakers Bertone and Pininfarina, respectively, but containing many Fiat parts, including the engine. Fiat will no longer sell those cars, although it will maintain its U.S. parts and service network for them as well as for the Strada, which it quietly stopped selling in the U.S. last year.

Fiat officials blamed competition from the Japanese for the demise. Indeed, almost as the company called it quits in the U.S., it was introducing, in Orlando, Fla., of all places, a new small car for the European market where competition from the Japanese is minuscule. Fiat might return to America at another time, says a company vice president, with "the right car at the right moment." ■

Students at M.I.T.'s Sloan School signing up for interviews with corporate recruiters

Hard Lesson

Trying times for 1983 M.B.A.s

Vance Bates, 26, had expected 1983 to be kind to graduating Master of Business Administration students. Envious members of last year's M.B.A. crop had advised him that the recession was likely to give way to brighter job prospects this year. But Bates, who will receive his M.B.A. in May and hopes to land a job paying between $25,000 and $30,000 a year, is finding that things seem to have got worse. He has sent letters to 60 employers, and fears that he will have to settle for less than his first choice, commercial banking. Says he: "I never imagined it would be this way. I thought I would be deciding which offer to take, not wondering whether I would get an offer."

Legions of M.B.A. candidates from Boston to Berkeley are wondering the same thing. A record 61,000 students will receive their degrees this year, 26% more than five years ago. The stubborn recession, however, has led many firms to skip the 1983 campus recruiting season, which got under way at numerous schools last week. Result: a student scramble for jobs and a slowdown in salary growth.

Companies will dangle annual paychecks averaging about $26,000 before 1983 graduates, according to the Northwestern University Endicott Report, a nationwide survey. That bait will be only about 4.8% above 1982 offers, however, which were 11.8% higher than in 1981. Observes Gretchen Thompson, career planning and placement director at the U.C.L.A. Graduate School of Management: "There is a glut of M.B.A.s on the market. So many no-name schools are turning out M.B.A.s that companies are looking for only the very best students with the best grades from the best schools."

The less-well-known institutions are therefore being hurt the most. Ball State University in Muncie, Ind., normally attracts some 300 corporate recruiters. This year only about 200 firms are expected to interview the school's 2,000 graduate and undergraduate business students. Says Placement Director Glenn Rosenthal: "We're finding a lot of employers canceling appointments that they had scheduled for March. We've tried to be honest with our students about the outlook, and yet at the same time not demoralize them."

Not even the most prestigious schools are exempt from the no-show trend. Harvard Business School, whose 1982 graduates earned salaries ranging from $15,000 to a lofty $85,800, has so far scheduled recruiters from 300 companies for interviews with its 782 graduating M.B.A. candidates. That corporate guest list is 8% smaller than the 1982 version, which was down 5% from the year before. Placement officers at M.I.T.'s Sloan School expect some 150 firms to call, down nearly 15% from the level of two years ago.

The roster of campus absentees, ranging from U.S. Steel to Philip Morris, reads like a *Who's Who* of corporate America. Among the most conspicuous no-shows are major oil companies, whose profits have tumbled along with oil prices. Exxon Corp., the largest U.S. industrial firm, plans to recruit at just 19 schools this season, compared with 50 a year ago. Part of the slack is being taken up by computer and electronics companies, as well as fast-growing younger firms. Says Arthur Letcher, director of graduate placement at the Wharton School: "The Fortune 500 companies are unquestionably not hiring as many students, but small companies in high-technology and health products industries are here."

Some campus visits are little more than courtesy calls by companies that want to keep their names before the graduating students. Concedes David Lewis, who supervises college hiring for San Francisco–based Crocker National Bank: "There is a long-term public relations value even with students you don't hire." Lewis notes that some of his colleagues are skeptical about the value of an M.B.A. "It's a fairly common belief among some people at Crocker that M.B.A.s are overrated," says he. "Some still see the importance of hiring M.B.A.s, but others are asking whether it is really worth it." Crocker is hiring bachelor's degree graduates to fill several positions that had been reserved for recruits with master's degrees.

The growing M.B.A. glut may have helped change the kinds of jobs that students are willing to take. Although consulting and investment banking remain frequent top choices, more M.B.A. candidates are now turning to the once shunned field of plant management. Positions in this area can quickly lead to running a division, and they pay well. Among the more popular new businesses are venture-capital firms, which offer high salaries for the talent it takes to dole out cash to promising young companies.

Whatever their preferences, members of the current crop of M.B.A. graduates are finding that they must work overtime to land jobs. Says Michael Ferrie, 24, who will graduate in June from Northwestern's Kellogg Graduate School of Management: "We were told to get out there early and get our names in people's faces and not stop—to just keep hitting and hitting and hitting." This year, in other words, there is little chance to succeed in business without really trying. ■

Cookie Monster

P & G bites Nabisco

Procter & Gamble Co. of Cincinnati, the household-products giant (1982 sales: $12 billion), approaches every new venture as if it were a military campaign. First comes reconnaissance. Then a few carefully selected sorties. Finally a full-scale assault on the target market.

Signs are now multiplying that the king of disposable diapers and dandruff shampoos is mobilizing for a sweeping offensive on several new fronts in the food business. Within the past four months P & G has introduced its own orange juice in Iowa and Indiana and revealed plans to buy a soft-drink bottling firm in Kentucky. Over the past two weeks, P & G has quietly launched a drive to market yet another tasty product: cookies.

For its initial test marketing, the company sent salesmen to supermarkets in Kansas City with sample bags of cookies bearing P & G's Duncan Hines label. The inaugural flavors are five varieties of chocolate chip—either plain or combined with butterscotch, almonds, mint or peanut butter–fudge. P & G has previously sold Duncan Hines cookie mix, but this is the company's first challenge to Nabisco and Keebler, the leaders in the $2.5 billion-per-year ready-to-munch-cookie industry. In its sales pitches, P & G asserts that it has developed technology to mass produce a cookie that is crispy on the outside, chewy on the inside and tastes more homemade than the bestselling brands.

Going to Kansas City

Hercules Segalas, a senior vice president with Drexel Burnham Lambert and Wall Street's leading expert on P & G, is already calling the cookie "a clear winner." He predicts that the product will be available nationwide within a year and will generate annual sales of perhaps $400 million by 1986.

Many of those cookies may be washed down with P & G soft drinks. In 1980 the Cincinnati company bought the firm that makes Orange Crush and Hires Root Beer, and some industry watchers predicted that it was only a matter of time before P & G came out with a cola drink. Reason: colas account for about 62% of all soft-drink sales, and the conventional wisdom is that a company without a cola cannot make big money in soda pop.

P & G has already begun scouting the cola business. Late last year it announced a deal to buy Coca-Cola Bottling Mideast Inc., an independent company that bottles Coke and other soft drinks in several Kentucky cities. That plan upset executives at Coca-Cola Co. in Atlanta, who fear that P & G will learn the secrets of Coke's success and apply them in selling its own drinks, including perhaps a new cola. Coke quickly got a Georgia state court to issue an order temporarily blocking P & G's purchase, and the case is now before a federal judge in Atlanta.

Meanwhile, P & G is trying to put more fizz into sales of Orange Crush, an old brand that has garnered less than 4% of the soft-drink market. As it has done so often with detergents, the company is introducing a new, improved version of Crush with a more "orangy" taste. P & G is testing a series of TV commercials in which an E.T.-like visitor from outer space called Ozmo comes to earth to pick up a sample of the improved Orange Crush.

The company also claims to have come up with a special process to package a fresher-tasting orange juice. It has mounted a classic P & G campaign to promote Citrus Hill brand juice in Iowa and Indiana with cents-off coupons, free samples and a TV advertising blitz. This venture marks another bold confrontation with Coca-Cola, which makes Minute Maid, the bestselling orange juice.

In all these new forays into the food business, P & G is banking on its renowned research team to develop products that the public will find better than existing brands. Analyst Segalas, who studies every patent that P & G applies for, believes that the company will spring more surprises in the future. He thinks, for example, that P & G is working on a low-fat, low-calorie, low-cholesterol cookie that will taste good without causing tooth decay. For the moment, though, P & G will be urging Americans to eat sugar-filled Duncan Hines cookies—and brush regularly with its Crest toothpaste. ■

Dividends

The Gnomes of Budapest

"It does not matter what your name is, and we do not look at your passport." A come-on from a discreet Swiss bank offering numbered accounts? Not exactly. This pledge of secrecy is part of a new advertising campaign in Europe to lure foreign money to a bank in Hungary.

After Poland's debt crisis flared in 1981, Western banks pulled out money that they had on deposit in Eastern Europe. Now the National Savings Bank in Budapest intends to get some of that cash back. Its strategy: to compete with the fabled Swiss banking gnomes for Western customers who want to hide their hoards. Switzerland last year became less of a haven because the government loosened its secrecy laws to allow banks, in some cases, to reveal information on accounts held by suspected criminals. The Hungarians, however, promise absolute confidentiality. Moreover, the bank pays 13.5% interest on one-year deposits, *vs.* 8.6% on a comparable account in Switzerland. Since the Hungarians began their service in November, some 2,000 Westerners have deposited more than $30 million.

Pac-Man and the Pirates

Some computer buffs might argue that video games are well on their way to replacing baseball as the national pastime. Warner Communications Inc., whose Atari unit has reaped a fortune on such electronic diversions as Pac-Man and Asteroids, apparently thinks that there is still money to be made from real-life action on a dusty playing field. Warner announced last week that it will buy a 48% share in the Pittsburgh Pirates from the team's longtime owners, the John W. Galbreath family of Pittsburgh, for an undisclosed price.

At best, Warner's investment appears risky. Since 1971 the Pirates have lost perhaps $10 million because of poor attendance and escalating maintenance costs at Three Rivers Stadium. After winning the World Series in 1979, the club fell in 1982 to fourth place in the six-team National League East Division. Pittsburgh's total attendance last season of 1,030,830 ranked 25th out of 26 major league teams.

Warner is confident, however, that its formidable promotional skills can help generate new excitement about the Pirates. But it may not be easy to lure young fans from Pac-Man.

Goosewiches to Go

French Designer Pierre Cardin, 60, takes pride in having brought *haute couture* to the masses. Now he wants to do the same with *haute cuisine*. This month Cardin, who owns the famed Maxim's restaurant in Paris, opened a fast-food spinoff called Minim's for gourmet diners whose tastes are richer than their pocketbooks. Says he: "It is a democratic effort to give everybody a chance at happiness."

Located on the Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Paris' poshest shopping avenue, Minim's features the miniwich, a two-bite sandwich for seven francs (about $1) that is stuffed with such fillings as goose liver pâté or tomato and Gruyère cheese. For a little more than $3, patrons can partake of "eggplant caviar" in an avocado boat or hearts of palm peppered with paprika. While the $6 to $9 bill for a full meal may be more than at a Burger King in Paris, the price beats the $75 average at Maxim's. Diners can have orders bundled for carry-out or they can sit on stools at small wooden tables overlooked by wall murals depicting nude sculptures.

Cardin plans to sell franchises for some 200 Minim's restaurants worldwide, and 30 of the fancy fast-food shops may open in major U.S. cities by the end of 1984. Early reviews from curious Parisians and tourists who filled Minim's last week were mixed. Said one finicky Frenchwoman who thought her quiche mediocre: "Given the quality of Maxim's, I had expected more." But an American woman said of her Minim's meal, "It was a Maxim-izing experience."

Lady of the Everglades

Marjory Stoneman Douglas fights for Florida's wetlands

"It was like nothing else on earth. In Lake Okeechobee, the blue-and-purple water hyacinth was higher than our heads. On the coast, blue-and-green water, blue sky roofed with thousands and thousands of white birds overhead. You would be silent, and all you could hear was the wings rustling. One day we sat in our boats through such a sight, with the sun setting, then the moon, as the birds headed into their rookeries, like a bouquet of white flowers, before nightfall."

For nearly four decades, Marjory Stoneman Douglas, 92, has been the eloquent voice of South Florida's Everglades. As writer, she celebrated the mysteries of the swampy wilderness in the 1947 classic, *The Everglades: River of Grass*. As president of Friends of the Everglades, the 2,800-member organization she founded in 1970, she has battled civilization's encroachments in an effort to preserve and restore North America's only subtropical zone. Douglas and her recruits, dubbed Marjory's Army, have scored impressive victories, helping to block construction of an international jetport in the marshland, forcing the closing of two drainage canals and strengthening restrictions on real estate developers. Those successes are all the more impressive since they depend on a shoestring budget: the Friends of the Everglades' treasury currently contains only $12,000. Says Douglas of the powerful forces aligned against her: "We're fighting the Federal Government, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, water management, realtors and demographics."

Florida's Everglades, a unique mixture of rain forest, wildlife refuge and the world's largest cultivated organic soil bed, stretches 100 miles from Lake Okeechobee in the north to Florida Bay at the state's southern tip. Once the marshland measured an average 45 miles in width; today it extends 35 miles. Little of the land is in its pristine state. Huge tracts have been drained for agricultural and residential development, and thousands of miles of man-made canals have diverted the water from natural channels. Even much of the 62% of land lying within the Everglades National Park, though it remains covered with hardy saw grass, is in sorry condition.

The effect has been devastating. At least 50% of the soil has oxidized and eroded, in some places exposing the barren lime rock. Buried septic tanks on Lake Okeechobee's shores have surfaced. The lake itself has receded, from a depth of 17 ft. in the 1960s to 9 ft. last year. Alligators have lost most of their eggs to artificial flooding in three of the past five years. Flooding also led to the deaths of 5,000 deer last year. The region's spectacular wading birds, many of them rarities, are equally threatened. Wood storks, for example, have successfully nested in only three of the past 18 years. "The wetlands are sending up enough smoke signals to set off anyone's alarm system," warns Research Biologist Bill Robertson, who has been studying the Everglades for a quarter-century. Predicts Arthur Marshall, Florida's leading ecologist: "The Everglades has only 20 years of survival left."

Crusader Douglas on a visit to the wetlands

The manager of the fight to preserve this threatened enclave is herself a *rara avis*. Born in Minneapolis in 1890, Douglas was reared near Boston and graduated from Wellesley in 1912. Caught in an unhappy marriage, she fled in 1915 to Florida to become a reporter on the Miami *Herald*, where her father was the editor in chief. Miami was then a bustling pinelands town, and the region was primitive: few roads, duckboard walks between shanties, mules plowing in burlap "muck shoes." Douglas rambled widely, collecting material for newspaper articles and later for short stories, living through terrifying events like the 1928 hurricane that destroyed a mud dike and killed nearly 2,000 people. "I've seen it," she snaps in her patrician accent. "I've seen it all."

Wood stork: three successful nesting years

Sending up smoke signals to set off alarms.

And that is what she constantly reminds bureaucrats and county commissioners in private lobbying sessions and in theatrical public hearings. Her frail, 5-ft. 1-in. frame swaddled in flowery dresses, her head topped with floppy hats, thick-lensed spectacles perched on her bird-beak nose, Douglas is an arresting figure who explains her mission in mischievously simplistic terms: "It's women's business to be interested in the environment. It's an extended form of housekeeping, isn't it?" She is also a master manipulator. "I'm just a tough old woman," she avows. "They can't be rude to me. I have all this white hair. I take advantage of every thing I can—age, hair, disability—because my cause is just." Says Hydrologist Jim Hartwell, one of Douglas' advisers: "Marjory has stage presence. I look at the expressions on the faces of decision makers. She grabs them." A frequent and respectful adversary agrees. Says John Maloy, executive director of the region's water management district, which has authorized large-scale drainage projects: "Mrs. Douglas has had a great effect on people like me. We've closed the gap between how far out in front she is and how far behind I am."

Marjory's Army is currently appealing a zoning decision that would allow a condominium development in Upper Key Largo. Environmentalists contend that it will destroy the only living coral reef in the U.S. Douglas' main goal, however, is a $60 million scheme to buy and restore 30,000 acres of drained land above Lake Okeechobee. The project's chances are slim; it is caught in a jurisdictional dispute between the Corps of Engineers and the state. Beyond that, the future of the Everglades is threatened by the conflicting interests of seven county governments. Marjory Douglas presses on, however, exhorting the troops with a favorite line from Thomas Babington Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*: "And how can man die better/ Than facing fearful odds,/ For the ashes of his fathers,/ And the temple of his gods?" What keeps her spirits buoyed is visits to the Everglades, like one on a recent early evening. Recalls Douglas: "There was still a faint light. The first star still hadn't come out. The horizon was very far away, and there it was stretching dark and quiet but breathing and still alive." —***By Anastasia Toufexis. Reported by William McWhirter/Miami***

Out of the Mouths of Babes

More, and younger, children are climbing onto the witness stand

Eleven-month-old Matthew Cromwell was listless and had vomit in his hair when his mother picked him up in 1981 at the day care center in Clayton, Calif. Eight hours later he was dead of asphyxiation, apparently caused by blows to the stomach. Dozens of other children, their parents later reported, had come home from the same center with large bruises and emotional scars. Arrested for murder and child abuse, the center's operator, Eleanor Nathan, 36, knew that the only eyewitnesses against her were youngsters. Until lately the testimony of little children was rarely allowed in court, but that is changing. This month, after 19 of her former charges were permitted to testify, Nathan was convicted of first-degree murder and twelve counts of felony child abuse. She will be sentenced in two weeks.

Two witnesses in the Nathan murder trial, far right, at home with their mother and brother

In sex-abuse cases, children now testify with the help of anatomically correct dolls.

As the Nathan case demonstrates, what comes out of the mouths of babes is now often admissible as evidence and is more and more believed by judges and juries. No landmark decision is responsible for the development. Unlike adults, youngsters are still presumed to be incompetent witnesses in most states. To overcome that presumption, they must convince the judge that they have reliable memories, understand the difference between truth and falsehood, and know that lying is wrong. Most children cannot satisfy those requirements before turning seven, but there are a growing number of exceptions. An increase in child abuse prosecutions is one reason for the trend. Another is the accelerated rate of maturity among the young. Says Washington State Supreme Court Justice Charles Stafford: "It's not just high school students who are more sophisticated; it goes all the way down to grade school."

To be effective witnesses, children need gentle, careful preparation. Seattle prosecutors develop rapport by working with youngsters in a room filled with toys and coloring books. Recalls Social Worker Lucy Berliner: "Once during an interview there, the prosecutor and I lay on the floor playing Candy Land with a little girl as she told us about being molested." Also important is a visit to the courtroom so the child can sit in the witness chair and become familiar with the surroundings.

Sometimes children are reluctant out of fear they will be blamed if the defendant in abuse cases, often a parent or family friend, is convicted and punished. Says Carol Schrier, director of the Support Center for Child Advocates in Philadelphia: "We emphasize that the judge or jury makes the decision." Experts are careful, however, not to sugar-coat the potential outcome. "If it's going to involve the possible jailing of a parent, I think they have a right to know that," says Patty Coleman, a Philadelphia psychiatric social worker.

Lawyers try to frame simple questions that give the youngster a concrete sense of abstract concepts. In the successful California prosecution of Kidnaper Kenneth Parnell, for example, Deputy District Attorney George McClure established his witness's competence by picking up a pen and asking the victim, Timmy White, then six, "Timmy, if I told you this thing in my hand is an ice cream cone, would it be the truth or a lie?" To put children at ease, some judges bend courtroom rules a bit. In one Seattle trial, a 5½-year-old witness was allowed to sit on her mother's lap.

How accurate is the testimony of children? Their visual powers and memories are every bit as good, or bad, as adults', contends Shirley Robinson, executive director of the Child Sexual Abuse Treatment and Training Center of Illinois. "Preschoolers can't remember their addresses," she notes, "but they can remember the print of the wallpaper in the room where they were molested." Experts disagree about whether children are unusually suggestible. As for possible youthful flights of imagination, Child Advocate Schrier says, "Kids don't fantasize about a sexual abuse incident."

Perhaps young witnesses' greatest handicap is their limited vocabularies. In sexual abuse cases, lawyers employ a new kind of visual aid: dolls with sex organs. Using a pair of dolls, a witness can play-act what happened. Jurors in Red Wing, Minn., found this tactic thoroughly convincing in the prosecution a year ago of James Cermak, 27, for sexually abusing ten children. After four of them used dolls to show what Cermak had done to them, he was convicted and sentenced to 40 years in prison.

Cross-examining a child has its own set of pitfalls. A defense attorney who badgers a young witness risks alienating the jury, so the lawyer must probe inconsistent statements gingerly. Alternatively, the attorney can play on the still common belief that a child's word should be given less weight than a grownup's. As one juror from Laurel, Md., said after the acquittal of a woman charged with sexually assaulting a young boy, "It's very difficult to put someone in prison for something so serious, based only on a child's story."

For all the efforts to ease the child's natural problems in the witness chair, the experience can still be traumatic (as it often is for adults). In abuse cases, for example, youngsters must relive acutely painful incidents, and they frequently feel that they are the ones on trial. Those considerations recently cost Philadelphia Prosecutor William Heiman his sexual abuse case against the father of a four-year-old girl. She was the sole witness, and Heiman could not bring in her mother to relate what the youngster had told her because that would be inadmissible hearsay. The girl was not forced to testify, he says, because a "psychiatrist made it very clear that the child could be badly damaged."

That possibility is always a worry. "I don't like to see a child have to get up and testify," says Brenda Watson, a founder of the West Linn, Ore., firm that makes the anatomically correct dolls. "But what happened to him or her was worse. The only way to protect the children is to go through the judicial system." —***By Bennett H. Beach. Reported by Magda Krance/Chicago and Laura Meyers/Los Angeles***

The pleasure is back.

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Press

Newswatch/Thomas Griffith

Those Low Mid-Term Grades

First with the familiar cocked-head grin, then with the impatient venting of breath that shows he is really irritated, Ronald Reagan got back at the press. "I came in to point out to you accurately where the disarray lies," he said: not in the White House but in the press corps. It was not one of his better one-liners. Far from being in "disarray," the press was in considerable agreement about indecision and disarray in the Administration.

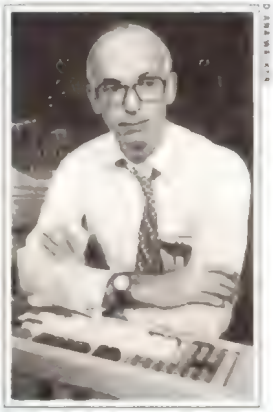
Of course, agreeing is not all that hard for the Washington press corps, to the extent that its members run in a pack, share common attitudes and read each other's stuff. But consider the criticism this time:

▸ A New York *Times* editorial: "The stench of failure hangs over Ronald Reagan's White House . . . Mr. Reagan's loss of authority only halfway through his term should alarm all Americans."

▸ The Washington *Post's* top political reporter, David S. Broder: "Not the midpoint in the Reagan presidency but its phase-out . . . an accelerating retreat from Reaganism, a process in which he is more spectator than leader."

▸ Columnist Joseph Kraft: "The Reagan Administration [is] ripping itself apart . . . the President and his closest associates seem to lack the political energy and the grasp of detail required for a mid-term renewal."

▸ Columnist Patrick J. Buchanan, who would feel libeled if called a liberal: "The White House is in full retreat—and if the President does not step out into the middle of the road and fire a pistol into the air, it will degenerate into a rout. Upon that assessment, those rejoicing at the spectacle and those sick at heart over it are in concurrence." Buchanan is among the sick at heart.



Broder: Reagan's "phase-out"

The surprise in all this is the kind of finality of mid-term judgment among political journalists who, though skilled at making controversies out of what others say, are often professionally cautious about committing themselves. Editorial writers have more than 700 days left in Reagan's term to write editorials about him, so where does the *Times* go after its editorial on "The Failing Presidency"?

Political reporters want to retain access to news sources, what sportswriters might call locker-room re-entry. Unworried, Broder says, "I'm not looking for social relationships, I'm looking for working relationships." He generally finds that even in Administrations he attacks, "they take you seriously if they see you are seriously interested in getting their point of view and getting information."

The New York *Times* has never warmed to Reagan, but has not before criticized him so sweepingly. As Max Frankel, editor of the editorial page, says, "The credibility of the tone of voice counts when you are trying to reach readers tempted to resist your conclusions." But for Frankel the climate has changed: "Do we belong to the culture at large? Sure. The same editorial 18 months ago would have sounded hollow or bitchy."

Year 3 of Reagan thus begins to sound like Year 3 of the past few presidencies. What has saved it until recently from the acrimony accorded previous Administrations was Reagan's amiability—an arm's length amiability, to be sure—with the press. Increasingly, Reagan's genetic optimism is contradicted by the facts. The reporters' questions sharpen; his replies fail to assuage.

Most political journalists seem to foresee continual frustration for Reagan in Year 3. Right-wing columnists like Buchanan and William Safire hope that Reagan can reassert his mastery with a State of the Union speech this week that stoutly repeats his old stands. Then there is the *Times's* Scotty Reston, grandee of the press corps, a septuagenarian like Reagan, a man more bemusedly tolerant these days than alarmed. He thinks Reagan will compromise when he has to, as he has done before, and then will "probably announce with a smile . . . that he's going home to the sunshine in California at the end of his first term."

Safire, however, is convinced that "the breaking of the President is merrily under way." So often critical of Reagan, he should know better: there really seems little merriment or triumph in the press criticism.

Milestones

BORN. To **William Hurt,** 32, intense, hunky, blond movie idol (*Altered States, Body Heat*), and **Sandra Jennings,** 26, dancer with the New York City Ballet: their first child, a son; in New York City. Name: Alexander Devon. Weight: 8 lbs. 3 oz.

SENTENCED. Eugene ("Mercury") **Morris,** 36, former all-pro running back for the Miami Dolphins during the glory years of the early '70s, who was convicted last November on cocaine-trafficking charges; to 20 years in prison, five more than the mandatory minimum. Said Circuit Judge Ellen Morphonios Gable, who pronounced sentence: "George [Yoss, the prosecutor] and I both like Merc, but we've got to do what we've got to do."

DIED. Don Costa, 57, music conductor and arranger, whose versatile professionalism was relied on by top singers of the past three decades, including Frank Sinatra and Barbra Streisand, in concerts, radio, television and more than 240 hit records; of a heart attack; in New York City.

DIED. Sol Spiegelman, 68, pioneering microbiologist whose research on DNA and RNA, the nucleic acids that carry life's hereditary coding, helped lay the foundation for genetic engineering; in New York City. Spiegelman showed how RNA serves as a kind of blueprint whose coded genetic information orders up the production of substances, and also discovered key links between viruses and human cancer.

DIED. Vladimir Bakarić, 70, vice president of Yugoslavia and the last of Josip Broz Tito's comrades-in-arms still in power; after a long illness; in Zagreb. A Croatian lawyer and a Communist Party member since 1933, he joined Tito's partisan army during World War II and served as its political commissar, later rising to membership in the party's ruling Politburo. Under the rotating system of collegial presidency in use since Tito's death, Bakarić was due to become chief of state this spring.

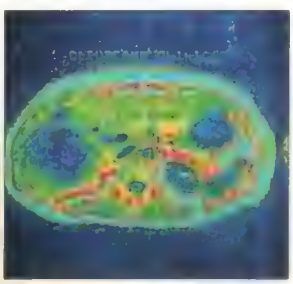
DIED. Joseph H. Lauder, seventyish, cofounder, in 1946, with his wife Estée, of the highly successful cosmetics firm (estimated annual sales: more than $1 billion) that sells her name and formulas and achieved its look of glowing health under his financial stewardship as executive chairman; of a heart attack; in New York City.

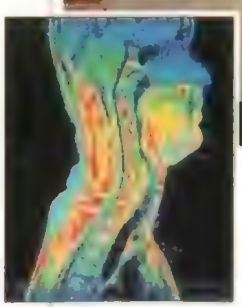
DIED. Arturo Umberto Illia, 82, courtly, honest and respected President of Argentina from 1963 until his ouster in a 1966 military coup; of lung disease; in Córdoba City, Argentina. A country doctor by profession, he was elected to the National Assembly in 1948 and dared openly to oppose the dictatorship of Juan Perón. On this national reputation, he was elected President, but his ineffectual administration could not reverse the country's economic slide or prevent the inevitable takeover by disgusted officers.

Making the Body Transparent

The mysteries of illness are revealed as never before

The throbbing of the brain to the beat of the heart, the coursing of blood through a maze of vessels, the dance of molecules in a working muscle, the stealthy growth of a tumor. For generations doctors have hunted for ways to see through skin and bone and into the whirring processes of life. The discovery of the X ray in 1895 by Wilhelm Roentgen opened the first window into the living body and inaugurated a new age in medicine. But anyone who has ever glanced at an X-ray film can perceive its limitations. The picture gives little sense of depth, and while bones show up crisply enough, many of the softer tissues of the body are fuzzy shadows in shades of gray.





NMR scanner at the Cleveland Clinic. Top: cross-sectional view of a body showing large cancerous liver tumor at left. Bottom: normal spinal cord

Ten years ago, doctors began to see more detail with a new kind of X-ray machine that uses a computer to construct clear, cross-sectional views of the body. The CAT scanner (for Computerized Axial Tomography) revolutionized radiology. But now that virtually every large hospital in the country has invested in one, at about a million dollars apiece, another revolution is under way: Nuclear Magnetic Resonance, or NMR. Currently being studied for approval by the Food and Drug Administration, the new technology is in experimental use at about half a dozen top U.S. medical centers as well as several overseas.

NMR exposes the internal landscape as never before. "Its development," says British Radiologist Brian Worthington of the University of Nottingham, "is as significant as the development of the X-ray machine one hundred years ago." Unlike CAT and other forms of X ray, NMR can "see" with clarity through the thickest of bones. Thus, without painful injections of contrast material, it can reveal damage from a stroke buried deep beneath the skull, find tiny spinal cord injuries, and make it possible to differentiate the gray and white matter of the brain. "For the soft tissue of the body," says Worthington, "NMR comes close to being the perfect imaging technique."

The revelations offered by NMR go beyond anatomical topography. Not only can doctors see internal organs, they can actually monitor certain processes occurring within them: blood moving through an artery, an arthritis-inflamed knee shrinking in response to steroid treatment, the reaction of a malignant tumor to therapy. "NMR opens up the whole wonderful world of *in vivo* chemistry," exclaims Neuroradiologist Sadek Hilal, who is testing the new technique at New York City's Presbyterian Hospital.

What makes NMR's revelations even more remarkable is that they are produced without the ionizing radiation of X rays. In significant doses, X radiation can damage cells and may be a factor in causing cancer; it may be particularly dangerous to the rapidly dividing cells of children and pregnant women. NMR, by contrast, appears to be harmless. "We can look at the developing brain of an infant easily and safely," says Dr. Robert Steiner of London's Hammersmith Hospital.

In place of radiation, NMR uses magnetic forces, 3,000 to 25,000 times the strength of the earth's own field, to wrest information from the body's molecules. Physicists and chemists have appreciated this use of magnetism for more than three decades. In fact, American Physicists Felix Bloch and Edward Purcell won a 1952 Nobel Prize for showing how NMR techniques could be used to probe atomic nuclei.

The heart of the NMR device is a giant, doughnut-shaped magnet, large enough to enclose the patient's body, and strong enough to stop a watch within ten feet. A field that powerful has an equally dramatic effect on certain atoms in the body. The nuclei of hydrogen, phosphorus and other elements with an odd number of protons or neutrons are themselves like tiny magnets; when placed within an NMR field, they line up like soldiers on command. To produce an image, the NMR machine emits a radio pulse that creates a second field at right angles to the first. The soldiers respond by doing a simultaneous quarter-turn toward the second power source. When the pulse is turned off, they flip back to the original position. This sequence produces a detectable electromagnetic signal. Each type of tissue in the body has a characteristic signal intensity and duration. Fed into a computer in the NMR system, the data create vivid, cross-sectional images of the body.

NMR is still in its infancy, but even the pictures available today can provide unprecedented insights. "In three out of 35 patients, NMR found brain tumors that CAT missed," says Thomas Brady, director of clinical NMR at Massachusetts General Hospital. "It has proved nearly 100% accurate in showing multiple-sclerosis lesions, while CAT has had a success rate that ranges from 5% to 35%."

At the Cleveland Clinic, Radiology Chief Edward Buonocore reports "superb" results with NMR imaging of the chest. Distinctions between lung tumors and normal tissue are clearer with the new technology, he says. "Any patient who has had his chest opened because a blood vessel was mistaken for a tumor would see the importance of this."

NMR pioneers also praise its power to depict blood and blood vessels. "It will provide the ability to see plaque buildup in arteries around the heart," predicts Thomas Budinger of the University of California at Berkeley. "Imagine studying coronary-artery disease throughout a per-

son's lifetime without radiation and without injecting contrast material."

Even more dramatic applications may become available as NMR technology improves. Powerful new magnets, chilled with liquid helium to −270° C, not only enhance the images based on hydrogen nuclei, the most prevalent element in the body and the easiest to trace, but also make it possible to pick up nuclear magnetic signals from phosphorus, sodium, fluorine and certain carbon atoms. Doctors are especially excited about the prospect of working with phosphorus, since the energy for all of life's activities comes from chemical reactions involving this element. At the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Britton Chance has been using phosphorus NMR to diagnose muscular disorders and to study the use of energy in working muscles. His cryogenic magnet is large enough to accommodate only a leg. But, he says, "we are on the verge of sticking the whole body into such magnets. Then we will be able to look at the heart or brain after stroke or injury, not only to see precisely where the damage has occurred but to assess the biochemical capability of the tissue to recover." Such information would greatly aid doctors in choosing a course of treatment.

Versatile though it is, "NMR is not going to replace everything," says Dr. Graeme Bydder of Hammersmith Hospital. "I believe it will have less importance in the abdomen and pelvis because existing techniques, including ultrasound, are very good." Nor is it as good as X ray in depicting fine detail of the bones. Whether the radiation-free technique can reliably detect breast cancer is not yet known, but results with current equipment have been disappointing.

There are also a few practical drawbacks to NMR. Its powerful magnetic field poses a potential hazard to patients with pacemakers and artificial joints and other implants containing metal. NMR costs about 50% more than a CAT: as high as $1.5 million for some of the simpler devices, and possibly double that for the strongest cryogenic models. Overhead costs are high too because of the need to house the machine in a huge, metal-free area that is sealed from such outside electromagnetic influences as FM and CB radio. The Cleveland Clinic plans to invest $3 million in a special NMR building.

Still, about 25 U.S. medical centers have NMR machines on order and, according to General Electric, one of a dozen NMR manufacturers, there will be 150 in place by the end of 1984. Predicts Dr. Theodore Tristan, past president of the Radiological Society of North America: "We're going to see that every large hospital, as its CAT unit wears out, will want to replace it with an NMR system." The challenge then will be to learn how to exploit the tremendous potential of the new techniques. Admits Worthington: "We're just not clever enough yet to appreciate it all." *—By Claudia Wallis. Reported by Magda Krance/Chicago and Mary Carpenter/New York*

Science

Graffiti with a Heavenly Message

The Southwest's old Indian rock carvings were observatories

As icy winds howled through the canyon, the people huddled beside their fires. The days had become short and cold, and the tribe's store of food was running low. Every day the people asked a tribal elder when the warming sun would return. But Sun Watcher, as he was called, sadly shook his head. The sun father, he said, was still journeying away. Then one day, when it seemed as if the far-off disc had barely risen above the horizon, Sun Watcher's wizened face broke into a smile. The sun father, he announced, had decided to return. The days would become longer, and a new planting season could begin.

Even today the Indians of the U.S. Southwest have their sun watchers. They proclaim the sun's highest and lowest point in the midday sky, on about June 22 and Dec. 22, (the summer and winter solstices), and signal the advent of a new season. Modern calendars ensure that there are no mistakes. But how did the pre-Columbian peoples foretell the seasons? Apparently, says a husband-and-wife scientific team, the Southwest's ancient inhabitants were skilled solar observers who used rock carvings to keep track of the sun's progress across the heavens.

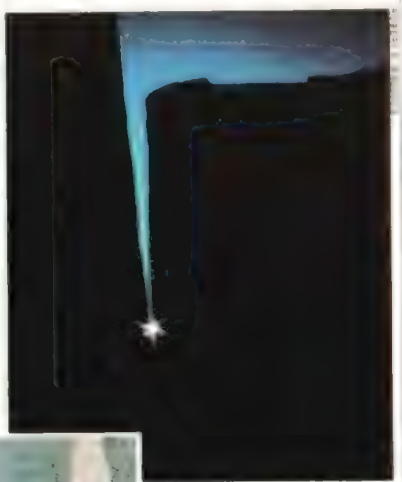
ANN PRESTON

Preston sights on carving . . .

NASA Astronomer Robert Preston and his wife Ann, an artist, came upon the evidence serendipitously while visiting Arizona's Petrified Forest National Park. The Prestons noticed some old Indian petroglyphs, the technical name for the spirals, crosses, lizards, birds and other rock carvings found throughout the Southwest. Anthropologists have tended to view them as little more than ancient graffiti, but the Prestons saw a message. As sunlight filtered between two large rocks, it formed dagger-like beams that swept tantalizingly across the petroglyphs. At once the Prestons suspected that the carvings might be a little solar observatory.

The first hint of astronomy among the Southwest's original settlers had come a few years earlier when Artist Anna Sofaer was photographing spiral petroglyphs in New Mexico's Chaco Canyon, once the center of a flourishing Indian civilization. The carvings had been left by the area's former inhabitants, the Anasazi. For hundreds of years they lived in the canyon, creating astonishing multistoried cliff dwellings, only to vanish mysteriously at the start of the 14th century. Sofaer, visiting the site around the time of the summer solstice, noticed that a beam of sunlight sliced right through one large spiral.

But the interaction between sunlight and petroglyph could have been accidental. If Indians were really skilled sun watchers, primitive solar observatories should have been present throughout the Southwest. Now, after 18 months of sleuthing, the Prestons have turned up 58 separate solar markers at 19 different sites in Arizona. An especially rich trove was discovered in a pile of large sandstone rocks apparently once used as shelter in the Petrified Forest. Because the petroglyphs include many fertility symbols, among them copulating figures, the hideaway is called the Cave of Life. On the critical days, the Prestons found the sun's rays brushing past spirals, bisecting circles and pointing finger-like at the center of a cross. The fact that the light show usually involved several figures at a time, mostly of the same type, seemed to defy chance. Similar events occurred 45 days, or an eighth of a year, before and after the winter solstice, suggesting that the petroglyphs were part of a calendar.


. . . and, lo, an equinox sunrise

The Prestons also discovered that the ancient sun watchers had another form of observing: when an Anasazi pressed a cheek against a spiral and sighted along the rock face, he would see the sun rise precisely in a narrow crack between two rocks on the day of the equinox. The Prestons are obviously delighted by the ancient secrets they have deciphered. Says Ann: "We are being given a unique opportunity to learn how a long-lost culture tried to put order into its universe." ■

Mystery of the Vanished Ruler

The fate of L. Ron Hubbard underlies Scientology's turmoil

A reclusive multimillionaire who preferred to work all night. A man terrified of germs who fought his growing array of ailments with a variety of drugs and massive vitamin injections. A brilliant and dominating figure who built an empire and who was both revered and feared. And now, to make the comparison more compelling still, the question of his fate. Even longtime intimates have not seen him in more than two years. They do not know whether he is living in seclusion by his own choice, or whether he is mentally incompetent and a captive of former underlings. Some of his old aides think he may even be dead.

Those eerie similarities to the last years of Howard Hughes are part of the mysterious portrait that onetime associates sketch of L. (for Lafayette) Ron Hubbard, 71, founder and guiding inspiration of the Church of Scientology. As proclaimed by Hubbard, Scientology is a religion that sees life as a relentless struggle to erase painful mental images (called "engrams" in the cult's jargon) that block a person from achieving his full potential and that may accumulate through his successive incarnations. Hubbard has insisted that he lived through a series of incarnations and that he was in fact 74 trillion years old.

In Hubbard's absence, Scientology is deeply riven by bitter disputes. A dozen or so of Hubbard's youngest followers, who have spent much of their lives in the cult's bizarre world, have seized control of the organization. Claiming to be "on Source" with Hubbard, and to be acting under his direction, they are also trying to gain control of the church's assets, estimated to be more than $280 million. About 75 senior leaders have been purged by the young zealots in a coup that has shaken the 29-year-old church.

Fighting these activists for Scientology's riches is Hubbard's estranged son, Ronald DeWolf, 48, who changed his name in 1972 in an effort, he says, to escape harassment by Scientologists. DeWolf has asked a California superior court to appoint a trustee to protect his father's estate from the new leaders. In his court petition, DeWolf contends that his father, who he says has long suffered from "severe mental illness and physical disease," is either dead or "incompetent." DeWolf also charges that his father used "criminal means" to acquire "wealth, fame and power." In another California court, Scientology is seeking to recover three cartons containing about 5,000 Scientology documents. The papers were placed under court protection by Gerry Armstrong, 36, who was authorized in January 1980 by Hubbard to gather papers for a laudatory biography. Armstrong found documents so damaging to the cult's credibility that he quit the church in disgust. He vows to use the papers to prove his charges, made in a sworn statement for a court case in Florida, that "Mr. Hubbard had continually misrepresented himself and had lied about his past."

Meanwhile, the Internal Revenue Service has demanded some $6 million in taxes and penalties from Scientology for the years 1970 through 1974. The IRS says the sum is due from income not used for church purposes. If the IRS wins the pending tax-court case, there is every likelihood that it will proceed against the church for millions more in taxes and penalties for later years. At least 22 civil suits have been filed against the church by former members who claimed to have been swindled, harassed and even kidnaped. A court in Australia has revoked Scientology's status as a religion, and one in France has convicted Hubbard, in absentia, of fraud.

CHURCHES OF SCIENTOLOGY

A rare picture of Hubbard: on his movie set in 1979

The mounting troubles of the church were dramatized on Jan. 7 when Hubbard's attractive third wife Mary Sue, 51, was sentenced to four years in prison by a federal judge in Washington. Once the church's second most powerful official, Mrs. Hubbard was the last of eleven Scientology members who were convicted for their roles in bugging and burglarizing the Washington offices of the IRS, the Federal Trade Commission, the Drug Enforcement Administration and the Justice, Treasury and Labor departments. These break-ins were part of a vast spying operation, created by Hubbard and directed by his wife, to gather information on "enemies" of the church. One Scientology document so identifies 136 governmental agencies at home and abroad. At its height, the espionage system, called "Operation Snow White" by Hubbard, included up to 5,000 covert agents who were placed in government offices, foreign embassies and consulates, as well as in private organizations critical of Scientology. Hubbard even assembled a dossier on President Richard Nixon and individuals ranging from U.S. Senators to members of the Rockefeller family.

Some dissidents in the church contend that Hubbard has gone into hiding to avoid legal hassles. They claim that for years he has secretly placed huge amounts of church funds and hoards of jewels in foreign bank accounts and vaults. According to this theory, Hubbard has let his youthful protégés take control in order to separate himself legally from the church and its suits while retaining many of its assets. Other Scientology defectors argue that while this may have been Hubbard's plan, the onetime loyal followers have taken advantage of his failing health and are now seeking to enrich themselves. If Hubbard actually is dead, the charge goes, the church is being looted by those who now control it.

Estimates of the number of Scientology members vary widely, but defectors who once held high positions in the church say that the worldwide membership was at most 2 million at the height of the movement in the early and mid-1970s, and that 75% of the total lived in the U.S. The church claims that millions more took at least some Scientology courses. The peak income year for Scientology reportedly was $100 million. Now, according to defectors, there are only some 100,000 active members in the U.S. and perhaps the same number abroad.

The turmoil in Scientology began to intensify with Armstrong's scrutiny of Hubbard's private papers. "I went from being a devotee to realizing I was the

victim of a con game," he says. Archivist Armstrong concluded in his court statement that Scientology is "behavior therapy masquerading as a 'church' and making a mockery of honest religious practices." His wife Jocelyn, also a former leader in the church, agrees. She declares, "Most Scientologists simply have no idea of what goes on or how the church is really run."

Armstrong discovered that even Hubbard's personal background was a sham. Public records show that when Hubbard had claimed to be traveling through Asia and the South Pacific from 1925 to 1929, learning what he called "the secrets of life" from magicians, lamas, priests and wise men, he was actually a mediocre high school student. Although Hubbard presented himself as a highly educated man, he flunked out of George Washington University's engineering school after two years.

Nor was Hubbard a World War II hero who miraculously cured himself of nearly fatal combat wounds, as he claimed. Hubbard never saw combat. After his discharge from the Navy in 1946, he was granted 40% disability pay for arthritis, bursitis and conjunctivitis. He continued to collect this pay long after he claimed to have discovered the secret of how to cure such ailments.

In 1954, while a popular science-fiction writer, Hubbard founded Scientology in Phoenix. The church, which grew at a phenomenal rate in the U.S. and abroad, was based on ideas in a bestseller titled *Dianetics* that Hubbard wrote in 1950. The aim of dianetics is to rid a person of restricting engrams. The technique involves the use of an "E-meter," which was patented by Hubbard. To use the E-meter, a person holds a tin can in each hand while a galvanometer wired to the cans ostensibly indicates emotional stress. While the subject is "on the cans," a Scientologist "auditor" quizzes him to uncover any embarrassing or painful experiences in his past. All such traumas are recorded. Defectors have claimed that church members are often required to confess their wrongdoings in signed statements, which have sometimes been used as blackmail to keep dissidents silent. In the late 1970s, to supplement dianetics, Hubbard developed the "purification rundown," which he said would rid the body of the ill effects of chemicals, drugs, smog and radiation through the use of vitamins, grain oil, exercise and sauna treatments.

Hubbard's followers paid up to $40,000 to take Scientology courses that the church claimed could cure almost any physical or mental ailment. Some people spent hundreds of thousands in all. Says an IRS attorney who interviewed hundreds of members: "Many of them sincerely believed that Scientology helped their lives and made them better people." In the past the movement has attracted such celebrities as Hollywood's John Travolta and Television Sportscaster John Brodie, former star quarterback of the San Francisco 49ers.

As Scientology became more popular, Hubbard sold licenses to operate local missions and churches, which offered more advanced courses. Each such franchise was required to send 10% of its income to the parent church. Government attorneys who have studied the organization figure that more than a million people have been "audited" worldwide. Estimated fees: $300 per hour.

Haunted by his fears of such "enemies" as the FBI and the IRS, Hubbard in 1966 set up headquarters in a 330-ft. converted British ferry. He took nearly 500 Scientologists with him aboard the *Apollo*, including children signed over to the church by their parents and, according to defectors, controlled by brainwashing techniques. Aboard the *Apollo*, Hubbard acted out his wartime fantasies as he sailed the world's oceans. He was addressed as "the Commodore," his bevy of young women servants were called "Commodore's Messenger Org" (for organization), while his uniformed "Sea Org" elite formed his crew. Tonja Burden, 23, a one-time Hubbard favorite, contends that anyone breaking a rule was placed in foul chain lockers below deck: "I saw one boy held in there for 30 nights, crying and begging to be released."

Hubbard came ashore in 1975 and attempted, unsuccessfully, to take over the city government of Clearwater, Fla. Meanwhile, his followers set up secret bases in Dunedin, Fla., and in La Quinta and Gilman Hot Springs in Southern California. Hubbard spent most of his time hiding in the desert during the late 1970s; a tan Valiant auto and $500,000 in cash were always at hand for a sudden getaway. He supervised the production of Scientology films for the faithful. He also stashed money overseas, setting up holding companies in Liberia, Luxembourg and Liechtenstein, and awaited what former intimates call "the all-clear date," when his legal troubles would be over and he could publicly return to direct his flock.

The all clear never came, and, in fact, Hubbard's problems grew worse. A complex paramilitary organization (he had secret police, finance police and watchers of the secret police) kept control of his followers, even at times sending them to church prisons for rehabilitation. But there were growing disaffection within his ranks and legal pressures from without.

In March 1980, Hubbard disappeared, apparently in the company of two married associates, Pat and Ann Broeker; since then none of the three has reportedly been seen by other Scientologists. His wife, who claims she feels no ill will toward Hubbard even though he let her take the rap for spying on the Government, says she hears from him regularly by mail. Some old acquaintances maintain that they have received letters from him, one as recent as three weeks ago.

In Hubbard's absence, the cult has changed dramatically. In January 1982, his young followers created the Religious Technology Center "for the primary purpose of ensuring and maintaining the purity and integrity of Scientology." One of the Sea Orgs, David Miscavige, 22, who

President Heber Jentzsch

Defectors Gerry and Jocelyn Armstrong

Ron DeWolf, Hubbard's estranged son

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claimed to be in regular touch with Hubbard, contended that the founder had "donated" all rights to his courses and techniques to the new corporation. Some defectors, however, insist that the church planned to purchase these so-called trademarks from Hubbard for $85 million. Others believe the new corporation, in which Hubbard is not officially involved, was formed to shield him and his assets from the many lawsuits.

The new leaders also announced at a meeting of mission holders in San Francisco last October that the technology center would audit the financial records of each mission, charging $15,000 a day for the procedure, and that all franchise holders would be put on the cans for a security check. As discipline tightened, even Hubbard's daughter Diana, 25, was ordered to pull weeds in 120° heat at a rehabilitation project in the California desert.

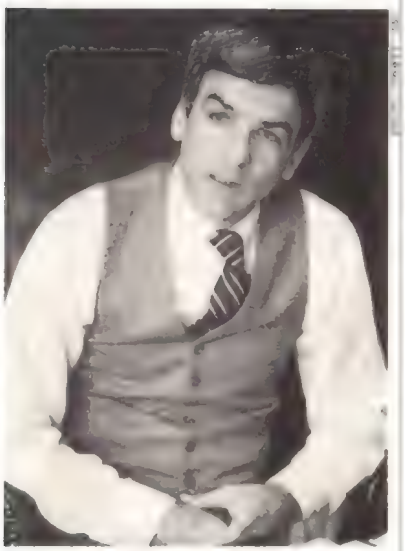
"Sea Org" members in the Los Angeles center

A purge of veteran Scientologists quickly followed the takeover. Bill Franks, 26, was thrown out of his office in Clearwater in December 1981 and fired as Scientology's executive director. "It's just a power grab," he says of the new leaders' acts. Their motive, he charges, is "totally money, absolute greed." Bent Corydon, chief of the mission in Riverside, Calif., which was one of the church's largest (1,000 members), claims that dark-shirted "finance policemen" demanded that he turn over $40,000 in the mission's treasury. He complied, and has since set up a new church unaffiliated with Scientology. "I got fed up with the young guys," he says. "The church has been attacking its own loyal people."

Alan Walter, a Scientologist for 20 years and a mission holder in the Middle West, contends that "Hubbard was a genius in many ways. He was set up by these kids. They were doing insane things. It was a reign of terror." Larry Wollersheim,

who considered himself "a cult salesman," says that he was trained to locate the assets of church members and then help them devise explanations to relatives for why they needed so much money. "I was constantly hammered to coerce people to get loans," he claims.

Michael Flynn, 38, a Boston lawyer, is representing 28 people who claim they have been victimized by Scientology. As a result, he appears at the top of an enemies list drawn up by Scientology leaders. Flynn claims that he has continually been threatened and harassed by Scientologists. He keeps a gun in his office desk and often uses bodyguards. A private pilot, he contends, "I nearly died a couple of years ago when the engine of my plane quit. Someone had put gallons of water in the gas tank, but I can't prove who did it." A current officer of the church maintains that Flynn "is a man desperate for money" who hopes to reap riches from his cut



Attorney Flynn: heading an "enemies" list

of any successful suits against the church.

In answer to the charges against Scientology, Heber Jentzsch, 37, who was elevated to the titular presidency of the church by the new leaders, denies any wrongdoing by the organization. Jentzsch insists that Hubbard is neither dead nor demented. He also says that Hubbard has gone back to his first vocation, writing, and "he deserves a little privacy at 71."

Meanwhile, in the desert near Palm Springs, Calif., at the edge of the San Jacinto Mountains, where Hubbard once stalked the sands wearing a cowboy hat, cursing and yelling as he directed Scientology films, security is tight. Guards at the Gilman retreat scrutinize cars moving along a highway past a black iron gate, and security men range amid the cactus, chattering into walkie-talkies. There is a sign that says GOLDEN ERA STUDIOS. The only visible reminder of the former presence is a bronze plaque on a replica of a ship's deck. It is dedicated to "L. Ron Hubbard, master mariner." ■

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HUMAN

Steve Schapiro

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He's a child at heart.
Inside E.T. are the feelings of a little boy. That boy is 34-year-old director Steven Spielberg. TIME took a closer look at this movie-making genius to explore the special sensitivity of a man who can reach the child in all of us. Week after week, TIME gives you more than news and information. It brings insight and understanding to subjects that matter to you.

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TIME

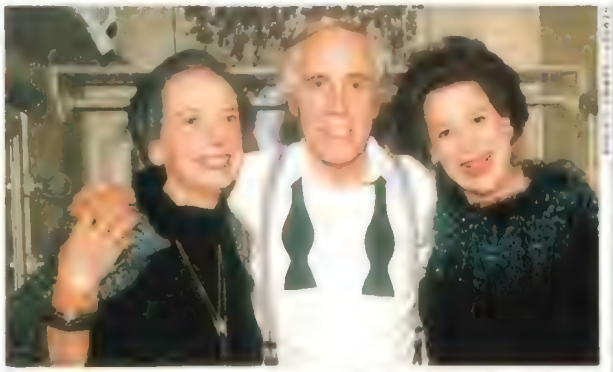
People

Smith: highest-paid shortstop

Gentlemen's Quarterly asked him to pose doing a buck-and-wing. But it's his new megabuck-and-change contract that really has St. Louis Cardinals Shortstop **Ozzie Smith,** 28, kicking up his heels. Last week "the Wizard of Oz," as he is known around Busch Stadium, doubled his old salary in a pact with the 1982 World Series–winning Cards that will make him the highest-paid shortstop in major league history: a reported $1 million a year. Oz's golden-brick road will run for at least the next three seasons.

■

The collaborative genius of **George S. Kaufman** and **Moss Hart** produced many great American plays and one theatrical masterpiece, the 1938 Pulitzer-prizewinning comedy *You Can't Take It with You*. Across the river from Broadway in Millburn, N.J., it has just been revived, with **Jason Robards,** 60, in the lead. When Kaufman's daughter **Anne Kaufman,** 57, and Moss Hart's widow **Kitty Carlisle Hart,** 65, dropped backstage, it added a familial touch to the family-oriented play that suited Robards fine. The much married reformed drinker is practicing what he performs. "You know what I did the other night?" says Robards. "I threw the football with my eight-year-old son until 9. Let me tell you, running after the football in the dark at 60 keeps you young."



Robards, Kaufman and Hart backstage at *You Can't Take It with You*

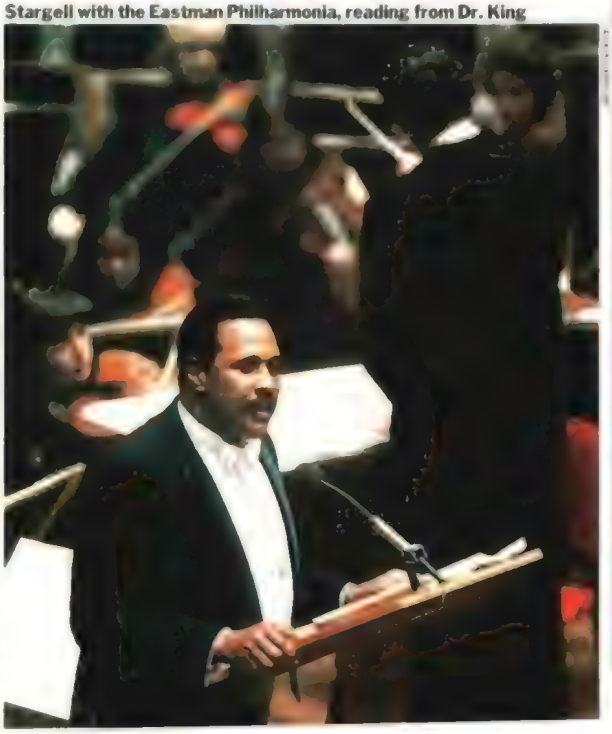
■

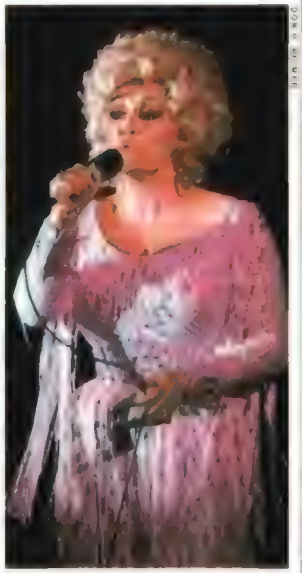
Former Pittsburgh Pirate **Willie Stargell,** 41, last week went through the angst of being a rookie again. He had been recruited by the Eastman Philharmonia to read selected passages from the speeches of **Martin Luther King** to a new score written with Stargell in mind by Composer **Joseph Schwantner,** 39. "When you play Carnegie Hall, the knees tend to knock," said Stargell. But last week he gave a great performance in a career marked by great performances. For the old ballplayer, his debut was one from the heart. "Once, I remember we went to a drive-in movie, and the blacks had to sit in the back on benches with a little tin roof overhead in case it rained. Memories like that make you want to do something for Dr. King."

■

The crowds were beginning to gather at the Executive Inn Rivermont, near Owensboro, Ky. **Dolly Parton,** 37, had come to town. About an hour before showtime, a woman phoned Owensboro police to warn of possible danger from a man who "wants to harm her, a person who can't stand her." Parton's security consultant, **Gavin DeBecker,** 29, recommended that she cancel the concert and three others scheduled for last week. DeBecker believes he has a line on the man, a mental patient who has been arrested "a number of times." As for Parton, who carries a snub-nosed pistol and has in the past indicated no reluctance to use it, she holed up first in Nashville, then in Los Angeles, behind tight security.

Stargell with the Eastman Philharmonia, reading from Dr. King





Parton before the threats

■

White House offspring update: with six months remaining on his contract with the Joffrey Ballet, the President's younger son **Ron Reagan,** 24, announced last week that he was abandoning his career in dance. He had received some encouraging reviews, but it seemed unlikely that he would ever become a solo star. Ron said that he intended to concentrate on "other interests," which reportedly included writing. Meanwhile, **Maureen Reagan,** 42, has added "game-show personality" to her résumé, at $1,100 per appearance. Maureen and her husband, **Dennis Revell,** 29, a cable-TV consultant, taped a *Tattletales* last month, followed by her guest spot this week on *The New $25,000 Pyramid*. Finally, Reagan's younger daughter **Patti Davis,** 30, has struck off in new directions of her own. She has taped her first pop album in London and is already nervous about the

Ron Reagan in his days as a dancer

Shultz smiling graciously with the Louisiana Exposition's pelican mascot

Moore keeping busy in Pleasanton

industry and audience response. "Lots of performers' first albums aren't well received, and you never hear about it," she says, "but I won't be able to have a quiet flop."

■

If there were a bar in Boston called Cheers, and if it were anything like the one in NBC's new sitcom of the same name, it would be just the sort of hangout where Democratic Congressman **Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr.**, 70, might down a brew at the end of a rough day. After hearing that he thought so too, the producers invited O'Neill to tape a cameo appearance. For his TV acting debut, if one doesn't count the House's televised debates, O'Neill is hunched over the bar when George Wendt, 34 (the Speaker's favorite character in the series), plunks down beside him and heaves into a tirade on Washington. "This bozo right here next to me could probably be a better Congressman than those guys in Congress," says Wendt. Add laugh track. And so the line between show biz and politics blurs further.

■

Organizers of big-time events have increasingly felt it necessary to embrace something cuddly, furry or feathery as their mascot—to be licensed for everything from tote bags and T shirts to coffee mugs and lobster bibs. The Moscow Olympics had a bear, the 1984 Los Angeles Games have a bald eagle, and for the 1984 Louisiana World Exposition, the city fathers of New Orleans picked a pelican. Last week the bird showed up at a Louisiana-sponsored State Department reception, to the amusement of Secretary of State **George Shultz**, 62. Perhaps his department needs a mascot too. How about a giraffe (elegant, with no voice of its own), a penguin (always in formal dress) or Dr. Dolittle's Pushmi-Pullyu (for simultaneously making policy statements and taking them back)?

■

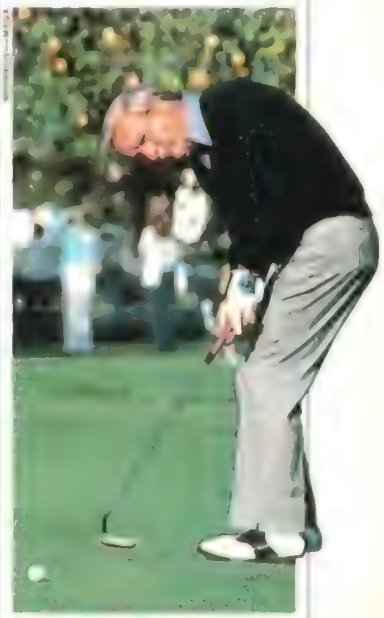
Tapping golf balls across a green a couple of years back, **Jim Flood**, 49, flipped his putter around, swung a few times and achieved pleasant results. The president and chief tinkerer of a San Diego–based golf-equipment firm retired to his shop and emerged with the Basakwerd, a putter with a head that points toward the body. It demands a square stroke of the ball that literally forces the player to use a textbook swing. Or so the theory goes. Golfers, of course, will try anything short of pool cues or ball-peen hammers to improve their putting game. **Arnold Palmer**, 53, gave it a swing, and at the Los Angeles Open earlier this month **Johnny Miller**, 35, and three other pros were all Basakwerders, at least on a few greens. Says **Gene Littler**, 52, who has been using the putter the longest: "It makes you laugh when you see it, but use it and you'll stop laughing." Littler has. He boasts the lowest average number of strokes per round on the pro tour for the past month.

■

Within the troubled mind of **Sara Jane Moore**, 52, there lies a dichotomy. As a radical marching to her own confused manifesto, she was sentenced to life for trying to kill President **Gerald Ford** in 1975. But there is also apparently Sara Jane Moore, the needlepoint-loving homebody. Securely imprisoned at the Federal Correctional Institution in Pleasanton, Calif., she seems to be the model of middle-aged matronliness. Says Moore: "I'm just a typical little old lady in her fifties." And in her jail cell.

—By E. Graydon Carter

O'Neill and Wendt: just a couple of barflies sitting around the set of *Cheers*



Palmer getting it all Basakwerd

Cubi XXVIII, 1965, photographed near the artist's studio in Bolton Landing, N.Y.

Iron Was in His Name

At the National Gallery, the eminence of Sculptor David Smith

The exhibition of the work of David Smith at the National Gallery in Washington, which opened last November and will run until late April, is the most important show by an American sculptor in years. Smith died in 1965, when his pickup truck spun off a country road near his studio in Bolton Landing, an isolated little town in the Adirondacks. He was 58 and in the prime of his sculptural career. Only Jackson Pollock's fatal car crash nine years earlier subtracted so much, so soon, from American art. No sculptor of similar talent has appeared in America since. If one measures a man's achievement by emotional range, formal vitality, material energy and historical ambition—the often derided "phallic" virtues of ambitious art—then Smith was the Melville of his chosen medium, and his shadow lies, perhaps unfairly long, across most of the steel sculpture that has been made in the U.S. since 1960.

Smith was an extremely fecund artist. One array of steel parts clanked down and pushed around on the cement floor of his studio could set off a train of associations that led with Picassoan abruptness to a whole group of pieces. For this reason, the National Gallery's show, curated by Art Historian E.A. Carmean, concentrates on the role of series in Smith's work, on how sculptural sets arose out of particular opportunities. The show also has much to say about how material determines imagery in Smith's work. But above all, it is an aesthetic delight.

The National Gallery's East Wing, with its choppy transitions of level, is a confusing place for large sculpture; the background is always getting in the way. But Smith's ponderous iron wagons, bright stainless-steel portals and gesturing arabesques of rusty or painted metal survive against it in all their magnificent variety. This is not a complete retrospective. It concentrates on the years of Smith's maturity as a sculptor, starting in 1951 with the Agricola series—"drawings in air" made, as often as not, from abandoned farm implements he collected around Bolton Landing—and finishing with the Cubis, a series incomplete at his death. In those 14 years, one may say without exaggeration, Smith explored the possibilities of welded metal sculpture more fully than any artist before or since—more, even, than Picasso or Julio González, from whom he first got the idea of using iron.

Iron was in his name, of course, and in his family history and his social environment. He was born in Decatur, Ind., in 1906, the descendant of a 19th century blacksmith, and his sculptural language flowed with perfect naturalness out of a childhood in the part-mechanized heart of America. "We used to play on trains and around factories," he recalled. "I played there just like I played in nature, on hills and creeks." Thousands of youngsters, no doubt, could say the same; but art grows out of other art, and what opened the sluices and let Smith's childhood associations flow into a career as a sculptor was seeing photos, not the originals, of the metal sculpture of Picasso and his fellow Spaniard, González, in an art magazine published in the early '30s. Smith had been a painting student in New York City. Working iron, he saw, might have the directness of painting. It was an intrinsically modern material, which had, as he said, "little art history. What associations it possesses are those of this century: power, structure, movement, progress, suspension, destruction, brutality." Smith was not one of those artists, common enough in America, who felt alienated from the machine age.

He was a gargantuan *bricoleur*, a user-up of discarded things, a collagist in three dimensions. His work touched base with the fundamental modernist movements, seizing and transforming something from each of them. From cubism and constructivism came the planar organization of form and the abstract language; from surrealism, the sense of encounter with a "personage," as basic to his work as it was to Miró's. Given enough found metal, he could launch into

A user-up of discarded things, a virtuoso improviser, Smith works with metal pieces in 1962

Evoking the associations of this century: power, structure, movement, progress, brutality.

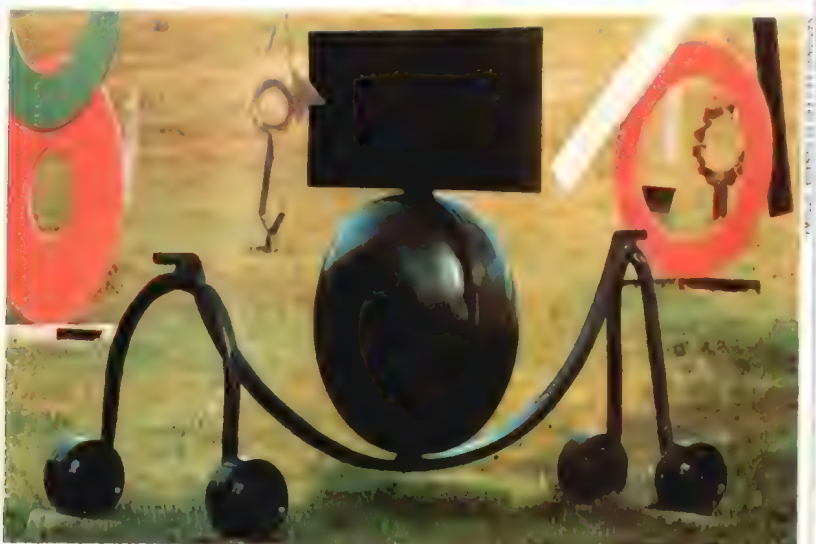
runs of astonishing inventiveness, like a jazz virtuoso improvising on a phrase. This happened most notably in 1962, when he was invited to make a sculpture for the Spoleto Festival in Italy. On going there he found, in the nearby town of Voltri, five deserted steel mills, littered with offcuts, sheets, bars and, best of all, a mass of abandoned tools, from calipers and wry-necked tongs to the ponderous, archaic-looking iron wagons and barrows used to run hot forgings from one part of the work floor to another. From these he made 27 sculptures in one month, and then had the leftovers shipped back to the U.S. to complete the Voltri-Bolton series.

Smith's energy made people talk about him as a "monumental" sculptor. They still do, but today monumental is a husk of a word. In the past ten years, it has decayed to mean nothing more than "very big." American cities are now generously speckled with abstract ironmongery: sculpture that means nothing but is part of the perfunctory etiquette of urban development, most of it larger than it needs to be. Locked in a losing battle with the megacity environment, it manages to look both arrogant and depleted.

Smith, of course, never went in for such parodies of monumentality, and not one of his major works was the result of a commission. Consequently, his pieces all look as if they were made to the scale of one man. This fact bears on the alertness with which his work addresses the spectator. "Most of my sculpture is personal, needs response in close proximity and the human ratio," he said. Smith wanted to focus the image, make it speak to one pair of eyes, one mind at a time, as precisely and, there being no other word for the moral undercurrent of his work, as earnestly as possible. Hardly any Smith is more than ten feet high or wide. All the work responds willingly to nature. The stainless-steel planes of the Cubis, scribbled with stuttery, glittering lines by the rapid "drawing" of a power grinder, respond better to sunlight or starshine than to the static lighting of a museum. The high color and splashy textures with which he sometimes painted the steel were certainly meant to be seen against the colors of tree, snow or autumn grass.

Voltri VII, 1962, one of 27 sculptures made in a month from the litter of deserted mills

But under museum conditions, the essential monumentality of Smith's vision remains. Even the biggest pieces, like the disquieting *Wagon I* (a "personage" consisting of a rectangular helm set on a swollen belly made of two tank ends welded together, all balancing on a huge forged chassis), suggest a sense of the figure and accordingly evoke responses from one's own body. They convey forceful impressions of posture, gesture and attitude. Smith was not in the business of making large iron dolls, and it may be, as various critics have pointed out, that the usual verticality of his sculptures encourages one to read them too readily as effigies of the figure. The same object, horizontal, would not be seen as a recumbent personage or sentinel. But in the end, the body messages of Smith's sculpture do not depend on whether the pieces have "heads" or "legs," as quite a few of them do. They flow from the internal relationships of the forms and from the metaphorical suggestions of tension, flexibility, alertness and so forth that their vivid and deliberate "drawing" evokes.



Wagon I, 1963-64, a disquieting "personage" that evokes responses from one's own body

Reinvented proof of the self's limitless powers to project itself upon the world.

Steel, as a sculptural material, is imperfectly expressive. It has never been fully able to suggest the pathetic. But it is a marvelous substance for embodying optimistic energy, the direct flow of feeling into untormented substance. All of Smith's best sculpture is an object lesson in what scale means, in the relationship between the sculptured object and the body of the viewer. And it was in his ability to create large steel equivalents for the sensations of the body, unclouded by apparent doubt or fear, that his monumentality as a sculptor lay.

If his conception of sculpture was "heroic," it was because Smith really saw those totems and sentinels, Cubis and sacrificial altars, gateways and chariots, not just as emblems of art history but as things to be reinvented. They were a proof of the self's limitless powers to project itself upon the world. In other words, he possessed a belief in the possibilities of sculpture that has now vanished from Western art. "Oh, David," wrote his best friend Robert Motherwell, in one of the most moving valedictions ever offered to a dead artist by a live one, "you were as delicate as Vivaldi and as strong as a Mack truck." And so he was. —*By Robert Hughes*

Voyage of Beautiful People

THE PAINTED LADY *by Françoise Sagan*
Translated by Lee Fahnestock; E.P. Dutton; 468 pages; $15.95

It was 29 years ago that *Bonjour Tristesse*, a short novel by an 18-year-old schoolgirl, Françoise Sagan, sold a record-breaking 1.5 million copies in France. Translations soon topped bestseller lists throughout Europe and in the U.S. A tale of worldly intrigue and adolescent sex, the book caught the public fancy as much for the author's precocious sophistication as for her fine-grained, sensuous prose style. Since then, literary fashions, linguistic games and critical theories have reduced much of French fiction to an esoteric art, impermeable to the intellect, oppressive to the spirit and absolutely no fun to read.

Meanwhile, Sagan has remained imperturbably on course, charting the manners of France's Beautiful People who inhabit the milieu of high fashion, advertising and show business. Those of her novels that appeared in the U.S., such as *A Certain Smile, Aimez-Vous Brahms?* and *The Unmade Bed*, came across as high-class pop fiction *à la française*, with predictable complements of cuckolds, betrayed mistresses and golden-eyed lovers.

Still, she could not easily be dismissed as France's Jacqueline Susann. Stylistically, her descriptive powers were a match for her formidable perceptions. The pity was, went the critical chorus, that she wasted her talent on such trivial themes and frivolous characters. That argument reflected the reverse snobbism of intellectuals who were unwilling to grant that the rich and the worldly were worthy of a novelist's attention, as if there had been no Proust. Sagan defended herself: "I have always made my characters belong to the same social group, out of decency. I've never known poverty; I don't see why I should try to make a living talking about social problems I've never experienced and know nothing about."

Criticism of her fiction stepped up after 1972, when Sagan reportedly began battling spells of illness, and her novels grew skimpier and more vulnerable to attack. In 1981 she was devastated when a French court banned her twelfth novel, a 178-page crime story called *Le Chien Couchant* (The Setter), on the ground that it was an "illicit reproduction" of a short story by another writer. The ban was later reversed on appeal.

Thus her 13th novel, *The Painted Lady*, wrought out of a decade of travail, long silences and undoubted artistic growth, comes as a reassuring surprise. A tale of loves won and lost on a ten-day Mediterranean cruise, *The Painted Lady* is more than entertaining; its verve and humor disguise a serious work. Sagan's cruise has a musical motif; the deluxe passengers have each paid $15,000 to listen to a virtuoso pianist and a celebrated diva perform aboard a ship pointedly christened *Narcissus*. The lure is also gastronomical: "The port of call determined the musical work, and the musical work determined the menu. These delicate musical relationships, hesitant at first, had bit by bit been transformed into invariable ritual, even if it occasionally happened that the sudden decay of a *tournedos* necessitated the replacement of Rossini by Mahler, and the *tournedos* by a Bavarian pot roast."

The passengers include a cast of characters from Sagan's usual repertoire: a vulgar movie producer and a mindless starlet, a tycoon with a calculator in his skull and his excruciatingly chic wife. Other figures have been sketched in bolder relief: the fiftyish diva with an insatiable appetite for young lovers, and her prey, the ravishing little gigolo who, while searching for a profitable connection, falls perilously in love.

Excerpt

"Just then the beacon from the lighthouse crossed her face and Julien was left petrified. Her make-up had given way under the tears and Kleenex and like the ramparts of a city it had crumbled and seeped away. From behind the . . . greasepaint emerged a superb new countenance, until now unknown, outlined and highlighted from the blurry bar light in an implacably tragic way that few faces could have withstood."

Equally improbable, but far more affecting, is the love that develops between Julien, the ship's engaging cardsharp and a dealer in forged pictures, and Clarisse, the heiress wed to Eric, a leftist newspaper publisher. Eric has used his young wife's money to support extremist causes, while sadistically stripping her of dignity and self-esteem. When Clarisse first appears aboard the *Narcissus*, she is grotesquely made up, her features virtually indistinguishable behind the greasepaint. She is the painted lady or, more ambiguously in French, *la femme fardée*, the made-up woman.

Julien's sudden awareness of Clarisse comes in a scene in which Sagan best demonstrates her skill, surely inherited from Colette, in isolating the heart-wrenching, tactile detail that illuminates a whole panoroma of feelings. "She had laid her left hand flat on the tablecloth; then, restless, it moved toward a loose thread and furtively pulled at it, drawing out others in the process, and a lengthy unraveling ensued . . . Wearying of this vandalism . . . that hand now lay with the palm open, taking on the appearance of a dog in the sun, turned over on its back to present its throat to the warmth and possibly the fangs of a mortal enemy." Julien, watching her hand, is stirred. "As he leaned to give her a light, and her shimmering fawn-colored hair momentarily entered his field of vision, bringing with it a whiff of perfume, Julien discovered with surprise that he desired her."

Unlike most of Sagan's previous books, this one has a happy ending, save for the gigolo who dies for his diva. Clarisse breaks free of her hateful husband and, after an intrigue as absorbing as a thriller, is united with Julien, the con man redeemed by love. In a passage strikingly at variance with Sagan's earlier pessimism, Clarisse rains kisses on her lover's

Françoise Sagan: a long journey from the *tristesse* of an 18-year-old schoolgirl

There exist great and beautiful loves, but they cannot be made the subject of novels.

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"A masterpiece"

"When 'Least Heat Moon' (the translation of the tribal name in his mixed blood) lost his job in a college in Missouri, he got a half-ton Ford van, packed a few necessaries including *Leaves of Grass* and Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks*, and set out to follow the track of various ancestors and write a book about America. The book is called BLUE HIGHWAYS, and it is a masterpiece.... Least Heat Moon has a genius for finding people who have not even found themselves, exploring their lives, capturing their language, and recreating little (or big) lost worlds, or moments. In short, he makes America seem new, in a very special way, and its people new. BLUE HIGHWAYS is a magnificent and unique tour."
—ROBERT PENN WARREN

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Blue Highways

A JOURNEY INTO AMERICA

WILLIAM LEAST HEAT MOON

An Atlantic Monthly Press Book
LITTLE, BROWN and COMPANY

Illustrated with photographs

face: "an inexhaustibly tender downpour beneath which Julien felt his face open up, become a fertile and blessed land, a gentle and handsome face washed of everything, precious and perishable, a face forever cherished."

"I have sometimes been criticized for showing a disenchanted image of life," Sagan noted in 1974. "I know: there exist great and beautiful loves. But these are sufficient unto themselves and cannot be made the subject of novels. There are hardly any great novels that end well." True, perhaps. But the writer who greeted her first readers with a *"Bonjour tristesse"* (Hello sadness) drawn from a famous poem by Paul Eluard has chosen to return to literature with another line from the same poem: *"Adieu tristesse."*

—*By Patricia Blake*

Reading Rocks

IN SUSPECT TERRAIN
by John McPhee
Farrar, Straus & Giroux; 210 pages; $12.95

No other journalist avoids the obvious with as much success as John McPhee. To hold readers through books about oranges, the New Jersey Pine Barrens or birchbark canoes is a tribute to his eye for narrative grain and hand for prose dovetails. The sanding and finishing are done by editors at *The New Yorker*, where McPhee's books first appear.

In Suspect Terrain, the latest issue of this arrangement, is a companion volume to *Basin and Range* (1981). That book explained the New Geology, based on McPhee's travels through the far West with a proponent of plate tectonics. This branch of earth science grows from the theory that the planet's great land masses slide around like dishes on a boat. Over time, Africa could end up in Brazil's *feijoada*, Australia in China's egg foo yung.

Hot stuff but overrated, says Anita Harris, the geologist who guides McPhee through gaps, folds and sediment from Brooklyn to the dunes of northern Indiana. Harris reads old rock, both high and low, and she is not convinced that plate tectonics adequately explains a great deal of "suspect terrain." The whys and wheres of her disclaimers may not rivet the attention of readers whose geology begins on the front lawn and ends at the beach. But Harris' rigors of body and mind cannot fail to impress. She moves robustly over the landscape lugging her hammers and rock samples. She computes the hard evidence of a canyon wall or handful of dirt with quick confidence and cheerful clarity. "I see little pieces of carbon. I see green chert. I see a bug crawling through the sand."

McPhee succeeds beyond expectation in revealing character in the disciplines of work. He, too, is very busy backing and filling to present a story that spans 4.6 billion years. Beginnings and middles can

John McPhee

Quickening the agonizingly incremental.

get lost in this world without end. Geology, which never tires of repeating itself, is oblivious to the need for plot and moral. Despite quakes and eruptions, the earth is agonizingly incremental, and McPhee must use all his skills to extract its story. On the reluctant process of diamond formation: "They want to be graphite, and with a relatively modest boost of heat graphite is what they would become, if atmospheric oxygen did not incinerate them first. They are, in this sense, unstable—these finger-flashing symbols of the eternity of vows, yearning to become fresh pencil lead." Noting that the last Ice Age stopped around Ebbets Field, vanished home of the Brooklyn Dodgers, he writes: "When a long-ball hitter hit a long ball, it would land on Bedford Avenue and bounce down the morainal front to roll toward Coney on the outwash plain. No one in Los Angeles would ever hit a homer like that."

Usually McPhee expands on a small subject. Geology presents the opposite problem: condensing events that might or might not have happened during incomprehensible periods of time. Still, in his 210-page book, he does what no other writer has done. For an hour and a half, he makes the earth move. —*By R.Z. Sheppard*

Wicked Tongues

CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERS
by Peter Quennell
Little, Brown; 176 pages; $16.50

As a biographer, historian, editor and critic, Peter Quennell has been one of England's radiant literary lights for more than half a century. He is also an assiduous collector and chronicler of eccentrics, a pointillist of foible, a raconteur without fear or peer. His latest memoir, drawn mostly from the '20s and '30s, is well named *Customs and Characters*.

Here, he is largely concerned with Virginia Woolf and the Bloomsbury set, that assemblage of brains and beauty whose wanton mores were matched only by their wicked tongues. Take for example passing conversations about Vivienne Haigh-Wood, the first wife whom T.S. Eliot left in 1933 after an unhappy marriage of 18 years. "None of the poet's associates appears to have known her well," Quennell observes, noting that Bertrand Russell "alleged once to have seduced her," then told a friend that she was, after all, "not so bad—light, a little vulgar, adventurous, full of life." Aldous Huxley echoed the endorsement, whereas Sacheverell Sitwell denied that she was vulgar.

Quennell, now 79 years old, is similarly uninhibited in describing Poet Victoria Sackville-West's celebrated affair with Virginia Woolf. The former's appearance, he writes, was "strange almost beyond the reach of adjectives . . . she resembled Lady Chatterley and her lover rolled into one." According to the author, Vita Sackville-West's husband, Harold Nicolson, and Virginia's spouse, Leonard, "observed the affair from the point of view of cautious guardians, determined that [Virginia's] unaccustomed feelings must not disturb [her] mental balance." Woolf's novel *Orlando*, "the direct result of her emotional adventures," was an immediate success, though Critic Quennell today finds it "embarrassingly arch and whimsical."

Writers, artists and beauties flit through Quennell's pages like guests at one of Lady Ottoline Morrell's parties. Here is George Orwell, with his face of "haggard nobility"; Novelist Ivy Compton-Burnett, "clever, sharp-nosed, sharp-chinned, close-lipped"; and Rose Macaulay, telling a friend at the end of her life, "I think I'm going to die in a fortnight. When are *you* pushing off?" Quennell writes affectionately of Artist Augustus John, with his gypsy ways and tribe of illegitimate children; John was immensely popular in his heyday, yet "had nothing of the fatuous outward bloom, the glossy patina of self-approval, that goes frequently with public fame."

Quennell was fascinated by Greta Garbo, whose beauty "was at times a burden—a valuable but perishable gift, like a magic snowball, held in the palm of the hand, that is bound to melt away." But he adds: "Beauty to be entirely irresistible should be observed across a gulf." The author has been married five times, in each case to a ravishing beauty.

Describing a colorful long-ago friend, Quennell almost casually defines a "character": "He was 'somebody,' a redoubtable human phenomenon, never totally silenced or permanently dismayed." The definition fits most of the people in Quennell's memoir, not least the author himself. —*By Michael Demarest*

Peter Quennell

Never totally silenced or dismayed.

Editors' Choice

FICTION: Bech Is Back, *John Updike*
George Mills, *Stanley Elkin*
Ironweed, *William Kennedy*
On the Black Hill, *Bruce Chatwin*
Shiloh and Other Stories, *Bobbie Ann Mason* • The Transfer, *Thomas Palmer*

NONFICTION: Blue Highways, *William Least Heat Moon* • Growing Up, *Russell Baker* • Hospital, *Michael Medved* • Isak Dinesen, *Judith Thurman* • Last Stands, *Hilary Masters* • The Path to Power, *Robert A. Caro*

Best Sellers

FICTION

1. 2010: Odyssey Two, *Clarke (1 last week)*
2. Master of the Game, *Sheldon (4)*
3. Space, *Michener (2)*
4. Mistral's Daughter, *Krantz (5)*
5. Foundation's Edge, *Asimov (3)*
6. The Valley of Horses, *Auel (6)*
7. Life, the Universe and Everything, *Adams (7)*
8. Crossings, *Steel*
9. E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial Storybook, *Kotzwinkle (8)*
10. The Fall of Freddie the Leaf, *Buscaglia*

NONFICTION

1. Jane Fonda's Workout Book, *Fonda (1)*
2. Megatrends, *Naisbitt (2)*
3. When Bad Things Happen to Good People, *Kushner (6)*
4. The One Minute Manager, *Blanchard and Johnson (7)*
5. In Search of Excellence, *Peters and Waterman (10)*
6. Living, Loving and Learning, *Buscaglia (4)*
7. Having It All, *Brown (5)*
8. Life Extension, *Pearson and Shaw (8)*
9. And More by Andy Rooney, *Rooney (3)*
10. The Power of Money Dynamics, *Van Caspel (9)*

Computed by TIME from more than 1,000 participating bookstores

The Detective of Heartache

Psychologist Tom Cottle puts his talk-show guests on the couch

Here's the pitch: a series featuring a psychologist from academe who hears the siren song of Hollywood. Point of view? He treats celebrities, making them feel better about themselves and all of us feel better about ourselves. Who to star? Why, he's already on the tube. Tom Cottle. So sensitive. So caring. So *earnest*. He'll charm the pants off you. And those eyes! So limpid, so seductive!

Clinical Psychologist Tom Cottle is television's sympathetic shrink. His weekly half-hour talk show, *Tom Cottle: Up Close*, is syndicated on 50 stations around the country, usually in the daytime hours when the schedule is awash in soap operas. Typical guests include such stars as Liv Ullmann, Jack Lemmon, Rod Steiger, Sid Caesar, Phyllis Diller and Milton Berle. But a Merv Griffin he is not: no idle chitchat for Cottle, who oozes edge-of-the-chair empathy as he delves into his guests' hurts, histories, loves and divorces. Their upholstered chair might as well be a couch.

Cottle's *curriculum vitae:* age, 44. Overachieving child of prominent Chicago parents (father a physician, mother a concert pianist). B.A. from Harvard, Ph.D. in sociology from University of Chicago. Former assistant professor of psychology at Harvard. Author of 22 books, mostly about the disadvantaged and disenfranchised: abused children, the elderly, the indigent and the handicapped. His commitment is incontrovertible. So why has he given up teaching to gab with Phyllis Diller about her face-lifts? "I feel strongly that this is the way to enlighten people," Cottle insists. "I'm trying to preserve my inquiry into human behavior through new media." Although *Up Close* is taped in Los Angeles or New York City, Cottle still lives in Brookline, Mass., with his wife of 19 years and their three children, and maintains a small private practice. He is currently working with the Harvard Medical School on a study of the impact of unemployment on families.

In 1979 he was invited by WBZ, the Boston NBC affiliate, to preside over a children's show called *Hot Hero Sandwich*. That lasted only 13 weeks, but then PBS offered him a talk show in which he interviewed ordinary people about their health and emotional problems. Last September he was signed by Metromedia for a commercial program. Cottle is acutely sensitive to criticism that he has sold out. Says he: "For years I wrote serious books and got no attention. Now that I'm on television, everyone wants to take a crack at me."

Cottle, who spent four years in analysis, usually begins each interview with an exploration of his guest's childhood. He inquires of an aloof Dick Cavett what it was like to lose his mother at an early age. His eyes dew up as Jerry Lewis describes the ache he feels for a departed grandmother. From the past, Cottle shifts (after the obligatory commercial) to the present. He wants Elizabeth Ashley to recount the horror of a back-alley abortion. He leans forward and demands of Daniel Travanti whether he has "the courage to fall in love" with his sultry *Hill Street Blues* co-star, Veronica Hamel. Cottle's sign-off is generally a smarmy show-biz compliment. To Martin Mull: "I feel rather blessed to know a man like you."

Tom Cottle: Up Close is sometimes too close for comfort. He probes for psychic bruises and then presses them. His talent is for investigative intimacy; he is a detective of heartache because heartache makes good television. The intimacy can seem enforced and stagy, making him come off as a "touchy-feely" Rona Barrett. His digging occasionally smacks of prurience, and Cottle then resembles a small boy titillated by a naughty word. For example, he inquired of an effervescent Debbie Reynolds: "Let me ask you a naive question. Why did you send your husband Eddie Fisher over to console Elizabeth Taylor?" He also has an annoying habit of asking such unanswerable questions as "Who are you?" When Milton Berle confessed to once wanting to kill himself, Cottle replied: "I know what it means, but what does it *mean?*"

For Cottle, "celebrities express the feeling of being dehumanized by dint of their celebrity. I'm trying to recapture their humanity." The trouble is that his famous guests, performers by instinct, have a tendency to be psychic strippers. With the merest prodding they will shred the last thread of privacy and reveal intimate aspects of their lives. Cottle calls it the "strangers on a train" phenomenon. Yet his guests expose themselves to a faceless audience of millions, turning viewers into video voyeurs.

The host's earnest empathy elicits a lighthearted response from Actress Debbie Reynolds

"Celebrities are dehumanized by their celebrity. I'm trying to recapture their humanity."

Once in a while a guest refuses to play the game. Sportsman and TV Tycoon Ted Turner stalked off the set after Cottle prodded him about his father's suicide and his sister's illness. Turner reportedly described *Up Close* as "the *National Enquirer* of talk shows," and refused to give permission to air his segment. But most Cottle guests (who receive talk-show scale of $200 to $400) know the ground rules: show and tell and don't be coy.

By dwelling on his guests' everyday suffering, instead of their ability to sublimate it into performance, Cottle sometimes misses what makes them special. Still, there are times when they surmount his failures. Milton Berle was a study in self-pity while describing the anguish of fathering an illegitimate son, but displayed his comic mastery when he narrated a story of his attempted suicide. Perched at the window, Berle was about to leap. He was discovered by his secretary, who begged him not to jump and said, "Let's order some turkey." Berle looked away, inconsolable, then slowly turned his head and asked, "See if they got roast beef?" —***By Richard Stengel. Reported by Marcia Gauger/Boston***

Hail to the Redskins

A rivalry that affects the towns as much as the teams

Nothing else about the makeshift football season was as well arranged as last week's championship match in the National Football Conference, the Dallas Cowboys *vs.* the Washington Redskins, one of sport's liveliest running arguments, where the score (31-17, Washington this time) is never really final. The grudge between these Cowboys and Redskins traces to historical events other than the familiar differences between cowboys and Indians.

When the Dallas team was formed in 1960, it was granted life in the National Football League above the objections of George Preston Marshall, who possessed the Redskins and had designs on the South. Marshall imagined a sprawling Southern TV football network with his Redskins installed, in the Confederate sense, as "America's Team." With this in mind, Marshall, who also owned a linen business, had kept the Redskins as white as percale. Shirley Povich of the Washington *Post* occasionally referred to the team colors as "burgundy, gold and caucasian."

In the dim first days of the Dallas franchise, when the Cowboys waited until their second season to win their first game, the Redskins were scarcely better. By that second year, Dallas tied the Redskins. Come the third season, the Cowboys massacred them in Washington, 38-10. Football fans in the capital began to be annoyed.

To get even more even with Marshall, Dallas Owner Clint Murchison obtained a piece of the copyright on Washington's cherished fight song, *Hail to the Redskins,* played for a galling time at his sufferance. So half-time shows joined the area of dispute. One Sunday early on, commandos from Dallas, or maybe Fort Worth, smuggled scores of chickens into the Washington stadium as part of a scheme to disrupt the marching band. Though the chickens were discovered in time, and distributed to needy families in turn, the incident left a bitter taste.

This rivalry slices deeper than most, affecting the towns as much as the teams. Washington-based Columnist Art Buchwald, who bows to no one in his disdain for the Cowboys, has smoked seven cigars in a single Dallas game and does not remember exhaling. Speaking as a Texan (Spur, Texas; pop. 1,690) living in Washington, Writer Aaron Latham describes the ill feelings he harbors toward the Redskins: "It's a gut reaction. I distrust and dislike Government, and that's what the city is all about."

This impression of the Redskins as a personification of Government was helped hugely by the hiring of Coach George Allen in 1971, when Washington began to fight back. To the citizens of Dallas, Allen came to be known as "Richard Nixon with a whistle." Both saw service with Whittier College's rugged football squad, the Poets, and just as Nixon habitually spoke of world calamities in the idiom of sports, Allen regularly referred to football games in terms of Armageddon. There were other similarities.

UPI

Fullback John Riggins hurtles to Washington's second touchdown

This time it was the Indians' turn to massacre the Cowboys.

Allen, who came to Washington from the Los Angeles Rams, brought along a history of controversial dealings with Dallas (charges of spying and other dirty tricks). Allen's disdain for the Cowboys prohibited him from calling one of his own players, Defensive End Dallas Hickman, by his first name. "George Allen never used to say 'the Dallas Cowboys,' " recalls John Wilbur, a Redskins guard of that time. "It was always 'the goddamned Dallas Cowboys.' " In a ringing inaugural address, Allen pledged never to lose to them. At Dallas that first October a Redskin runner named Charley Harraway ran this- and that-a-way, every which-away, and Allen's credibility was established, 20-16. The very next year, Washington beat Dallas in the National Football Conference title game, 26-3, and ascended to the 1973 Super Bowl.

"It's the Cowboys' uniform," says Wilbur. "It strikes hate and loathing in my mind, almost in a Pavlovian sense." It is not only the Cowboys' metallic blue uniforms. After Marshall died in 1969, Dallas in many ways achieved the Redskins owner's dream of a national team, a New York Yankees of the N.F.L. Beyond sports, the Cowboys may have some culpability in the entire Texas wave the country has suffered, from that cheesy show on television, *Dallas,* to the Lone-Star cafés, pointy boots, ten-gallon hats, all the trappings of the urban cowboy.

Both cities emphasize football. The year that Allen arrived in Washington, baseball withdrew; the Senators moved to Texas. By the time he departed in 1977, Washington was entrenched as a one-sport town. Even in its championship season of 1978, the Washington Bullets professional basketball team attracted only polite support. Enthusiasm for the local hockey team, the Capitals, and various college teams in the vicinity is also meager. In contrast, the Redskins have sold out 122 consecutive home games, the league record by far. Meanwhile, Texans wholeheartedly embrace only two sports, as Jones Ramsey, the venerable University of Texas promoter, pronounced some years ago: "Football and spring football."

The Dallas distaste for the Redskins seemed to have been diluted recently by greater dread of other teams, particularly the Pittsburgh Steelers, but also the Philadelphia Eagles. The sourest personal feuds had dried up and blown away. Diron Talbert, a singularly unruly Redskins tackle, especially had it in for Cowboys Quarterback Roger Staubach. Both are retired now. The Cowboys had won the last six Washington-Dallas games, including a 24-10 victory last month. But then this season bloomed for the Redskins into the most blessed of all their 46 years. During the eight-week strike, most of their tough games were canceled. The Redskins began to speak of destiny.

When the last barrier left between Washington and the Super Bowl turned out to be Dallas, the only team that had beaten them all year, it was perfect. At half time, it seemed even better than that. Not only were the Redskins ahead, 14-3, but Cowboys Quarterback Danny White was knocked out. For a nervous time in the second half, Washington cursed a new name: Gary Hogeboom. But after the Unknown Quarterback threw two touchdown passes, he threw two interceptions. The Redskins were champions, but the chant that shook R.F.K. Stadium was not "Super Bowl." It was "We beat Dallas." —*By Tom Callahan*

Sex and the Married Woman

Polls show 21% of wives cheat—or is it 54%?

In the world of pop-sex research, 1983 is apparently destined to be the year of the married woman. The February issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*, the March *Playboy* and the June *Family Circle* all contain surveys on wives. In June, Simon & Schuster will publish *Sex and the Married Woman* by the Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality in San Francisco. Despite some discrepancies, the surveys depict wives as sexually enthusiastic, confident, romantic and satisfied. Crows *Playboy*: "Sex in marriage has improved noticeably." According to the *Ladies' Home Journal*, "The most significant effect" of the sexual revolution "has been to enrich the love life of the American wife."

In 1953 Alfred Kinsey concluded in *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* that 6% to 26% of all the married women he studied had had an extramarital affair. Up through the mid-'70s, most polls on women who cheat reported figures only a few percentage points away from Kinsey's. Morton Hunt's 1974 report for *Playboy* concluded that 12% to 24% of women in all age groups had been unfaithful. The highest number recorded in a popular survey (54% in a 1980 canvass of *Cosmopolitan* readers) may have been affected by that magazine's naughty image, or skewed by the particular quality of its readership. Now, in answer to the question, Have you ever had an extramarital affair?, *Ladies' Home Journal* reports 21% yes, *Playboy* 34% and the Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality 43%. *Playboy's* women said that they strayed primarily to reaffirm their sexual desirability, while the institute respondents cited "emotional dissatisfaction" with their marriages. The institute's women were by far the most blasé: one-half seemed to feel that sexual relations are not governed by marriage vows, and 40% declared themselves as "naturally polygamous."

The *Journal* poll, by far the most conservative, found that 79% of wives in their study had never cheated. *Playboy* claims that by age 50 nearly 65% of wives have had affairs. The *Journal* is almost lyrical about the romance and happiness uncovered in its poll. Four-fifths of the women consider their marriages happy, put on pretty nightgowns and perfume before lovemaking and wish they had more time for sex. Three-quarters still exchange mash notes with their husbands and often tell them how much they love them. In return, 40% of husbands tell their wives "I love you" every single day. "The high quality of their sexual relations," burbles the *Journal*, "seems to stem from the basic strengths of their marriages."

ARNIE LEVIN FOR TIME

Some 80% of *Playboy* women considered themselves good at sex, while 65% of *Journal* wives called themselves "good" or "excellent," and 64% of the institute women listed themselves modestly as "great" or "better than average." On frequency of sexual relations, the core question in sex polls, the married woman reports making love an average of at least twice a week (*Playboy*, 67% two or more times a week, the *Journal*, 47% three or more times a week, both roughly the same as the *Cosmo* poll and one taken in 1975 by another women's magazine, *Redbook*).

Among *Journal* women, 60% say they have orgasms regularly, with another 20% reporting that they are able to have orgasms half the time, and only 7% having none at all. *Playboy* stated that 41.6% of married women always or usually have orgasms. Shere Hite, whose 1976 *Hite Report* showed disdain for intercourse but admiration for sex play, oral sex and masturbation, stated that only 30% of women in her study could attain orgasm through penis-vagina intercourse. The institute reports that almost 55% of its women regularly reach orgasm that way.

According to the *Cosmo* survey, about 85% of its women engage in oral sex. *Playboy* sets the figure at 95% and says that almost half of all married women make it a frequent part of lovemaking. According to *Playboy*, one-third of men and women have had sex in a public place. The *Journal* says 21% of wives enjoy making love outdoors, and 18% occasionally do so in their cars (an increasingly difficult trick in an age of compacts). The institute report says that 80% of married women have had sex in a car, boat or plane at least once. Says *Playboy*: "The married people we heard from do more of everything than the married people in the Kinsey, Hunt or *Redbook* surveys." *Playboy* even has statistics on how long it takes married women to become aroused (eleven minutes for women in first marriages, compared with nine minutes for their husbands, and 13 minutes for divorcees).

Other findings:

- More than 85% of wives are basically satisfied with their sex lives (*Family Circle*).
- 38% have had a venereal disease or herpes (institute).
- 91% use sex lotions or gadgets (institute).
- Among young married couples, wives are fooling around more than husbands (*Playboy*).
- Only 8% report that their husbands have a significant number of episodes of impotence (*Ladies' Home Journal*).

Readers have learned to approach these polls with the usual caveats: along with the facts come a generous number of confusions, exaggerations and ordinary lies. And jaunty magazines have more eye-popping numbers than staid ones like the *Ladies' Home Journal*, presumably because polls have a way of fitting the magazine's image. Says Ruth Clark, a senior vice president of Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc., which conducts polls for TIME: "If *Reader's Digest* surveyed its readers, it would probably find that *nobody* had any extramarital affairs." Still, sex polls are a harmless way of stimulating magazine sales and reassuring anxious readers that their sex lives are normal enough. *Redbook* reported in 1975 that its respondents "were longing for the safety of numbers to assure them that they could do what they wanted to without fearing that they were 'sick.'" Thus the newest sex therapy: health through statistics.

—*By John Leo*

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